

ART. XXI.—*Ancient Geography and Civilization of Maharashtra.*¹

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The abbreviations employed herein are—

- A. G. I.—Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*.
A. S. W. I.—Archaeological Survey of Western India (Reports of).
B. G. or B. G.—The volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer.
Bom. S. S.—Bombay Sanskrit Series.
B. R.—Bell's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*.
Cor. Ins. I. or C. I.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
E. I.—Epigraphia Indica.
E. A.—Indian Antiquary.
J. B. R. A. S.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J. R. A. S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.
S. B. E.—Sacred Books of the East Series.
S. B. H.—Sacred Books of the Hindus.

In the case of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, the Bombevian version has been used unless otherwise expressly stated.

THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF MAHARASHTRA

The subject of the present essay is the Ancient Geography of Maharashtra as collected from Indian and non-Indian sources.

By 'Ancient Geography' I mean Geography from the earliest times to about 1300 A.D., when the modern period of the history of Maharashtra is generally held to begin. Within the limits of time thus prescribed, I propose to deal with many of the topics that are treated in ordinary manuals of Geography in modern times such as the origin of the name of Maharashtra; the extent of territory comprised in it; its political divisions, mountains, rivers, cities, towns, sacred places, population, castes and communities, trade and communications, language and religion, political administration &c. Though in no means professing to write the ancient History of Maharashtra which subject has already been treated by a master mind (i.e. Sir Ramkrishna Bhanderkar) it will often be necessary for me to discuss

¹This paper represents part of the work done as Spangler Peacock Scholar in the Deccan University for 1916-17.

questions that may be thought with greater propriety to belong to the province of ancient History. But ancient History and Geography are very closely connected and the treatment of one cannot but stray into the domain of the other. The two cannot be kept separate in wider tight compartments. History and Geography always act and re-aet upon each other.

Before proceeding further it will be well to indicate the various sources which shed light on the ancient Geography of India in general and of Maharashtra in particular.

I.—Indian Sources—

(a) Sanskrit Literature—

- 1 Ancient Vedic Literature
- 2 Pāṇini Kātyayani and Patañjali
- 3 The two epics Ramayana and Mahābhārata
- 4 The Puranas such as Vayu, Matsya, Viṣṇu, Mārkandeya Bhāgavata
- 5 Astronomical works, such as the Brihatśaṅkhita the Suryasiddhanta
- 6 Dramas poems and romances such as the Bhrātrīyam of Rājaśekhara, the Meghadūta, the Rāghuvimśā the Dīrghakumāra Chintā.
- 7 Other Sanskrit works such as the Kūmasutra the Yogabhashya of Vyasa the Bṛhatsaṃhitā, the Ruyatiśingī, the Kavyanuśāsanī of Hemachandra and Vigbhāṣa Jocal Māhātmijas embodying traditional and often fanciful information.

(b) Buddhist Literature such as the Jātakas, the Dipa, Vāmpā and Mahāvīmaṇa

(c) Jain Literature

(d) Inscriptions on stone and copper published in various books and journals

(e) Coins *

* Ancient coins have a host of very great and interesting vexed questions in History. They are not, however, of much use in purely geographical questions. Still, there are some impressed with well known geographical names e.g. see Rapson's Indian Coins I App. p. 74, where we have the names Pāñcī, Pāñcītī, Lāpanī occurring in the red and yellow ones B.C.

II — Ancient non-Indian Sources—

- (a) Classical sources of India in the works of Herodotus, Ktesias, Megasthenes, Arrian, Ptolemy, in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.
- (b) Accounts of Chinese Pilgrims such as Fa Hian, Hiouen Thsing, I-tsing.
- (c) Mahomedan writers, like those in Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, and Alberuni.
- (d) European travellers like Marco Polo, Friar Odoric, Friar Jordanus.

III — Modern works on History and antiquities such as the writings of Dr Bhandarkar, Dr Fleet, Mr Vincent Smith

Earliest traces of intercourse with the Deccan.

As the ancient Aryans were settled in the Punjab there are naturally no references in the ancient Vedic literature to any place that belongs to the peninsula of India. The most ancient reference that points to the south is perhaps in the Aitareya Brahmana (VII, 18), where the Andhras, Pundras,¹ Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas² are mentioned as degenerate tribes. So also in the same Brahmana (VII, 34, 9) the Prince Dhurni is called Vidarbha (of Vidarbha, modern Berar) and is said to have received instruction from Purata and Narada regarding the substitutes for Soma juice. Prof Macdonell's Vedic Index says that Vidarbha occurs as the name of a place only in the Jaimala Upanishad Brahman, where Masali (dogs) are said to kill tigers. Vidarbha Kavyadinya is the name of a teacher mentioned in the first two Yamsis in the Buhadaranyakopanishad (II, 6, 3, IV, 6, 21). Vaidarbhi is the patronymic of a Bhargava in the Prisno-punished. Prof Macdonell sees a reference to Reva (Narmada) in the name Revottara that occurs in the Satapatha Brahmana several times (VII, 8, 1, 17; VIII, 9, 3, 1). These are almost the only notices in the Vedic literature that in any way point to places south of the Vindhya. From this we may safely conclude that even in the latest period of Vedic literature represented by the Upanishads, almost the whole of the country south of the Vindhya was terra

¹ The Kavyadarsa of Dand associates the city of कालिकोटि with पुण्ड्रक राजा नामिदयम् या गदित्यनुर्विपूलिता। अहित कालिकोटि गव्यामर्टगदित्यम् भूमा॥ III, 114. It is extremely doubtful whether the Pundras of the Aitareya are identical with the पुण्ड्रक राजा.

² व एतदा पुराणा इवा पुनिदा मृतिका इत्युपराया बहवे मश्विन वैभाष्मा देहस्त्री मृतिः।

incognitus. The river Narmada or Rev*i* has always been regarded as we shall see later on as the dividing line between Aryāvarta and the Deccan. Vidarbha lies on the borderland of Aryāvarta and the Andhras and other tribes mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa probably lived in Kalinga between the mouths of the Godavari and the Krishna.

We are not in a position to fix the exact point of time when the peninsula of India became known to the Aryans of the north. Yaska in his Nirukta (not later than 500 B.C.) refers to certain customs of the southern people.¹ Whether he means the people of the Deccan is not quite clear. In times later than Yaska's the people of the peninsula of India came to be called Dakshinātīva and their country Dakshinapath.² In Panini's Sutras we do not meet with Dakshinapath. But out of the numerous geographical names occurring in his Sutras there are two that point to the southern portion of India. In Ishādhy 31 IV 1 170 and 173 he refers to the two countries named Asmaka and Kalinga.³ The Arthashastra (300 B.C.) of Kautilya, while giving the extent of rainfall in various countries, refers to the countries of Asmaka and Apamita.⁴ We shall see later on that Asmaka was the name of the country round about the Ajanta caves. As geographical names have a tendency to persist, we shall not be quite wrong if we assume that Panini refers to this country. Kalinga is the country which corresponds to the northern part of the Madras Presidency between the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari. The word Dakshiṇapatha is however, found much earlier in the Baudhyanī Smṛti which quotes a Gāthā of the Bhallavīs.⁵ The Arthashastra of Kautilya contains an interesting discussion⁶ as to the relative superiority of trade routes radiating to the south from Pūṣpaputra to those going to the north.⁷

१ सो निरुक्त III ३ (Rudh) 'अध्यात्मुत्तेरुपम् पिन्दूपमिष्टुली म तानकर्त्तेण विष्टदानाग्ने
न एति गत्वरोहिणीति धनकामाय दाविषाजी तता कापुका पापतिका स्पाहाति ता
तश्चैराद्यते मा दिक्ष्यं लभते

* मात्रवयव प्रयत्यक्तुगच्छपत्तादम् ॥ ३ ३
इत्यप्यग्रस्तिक्षमसमाद्य ॥ ३ ४

* 'धाडशद्वीपं जड्हुलानी वरदयग्नम् दधेष्वादूर्गानां देशाभानाम् अर्थात् शास्त्रामात्रा
चाविश्वेत्वं तीव्रामितपरात्मानां हैम् यत्तो च कान्त अधिकरण ॥ ३ ५

बोध्यापनम्भूति (आन दाख्यम ल ३८) । ३ ५२०१३ * अध्यात्म भागविना गाधो
प्राप्तादान्ति । अव्यतिवेऽप्यमाधा सुराशु दक्षिणापथा । इपात्रृसंज्ञसीरीता वते सर्वोर्योनय ॥

* अथवयेऽति हेषत्वा गत्विष्णापथाद्यैवात् हृष्यथग धदत्वाऽग्नेन यमुखजग्नया
रमाद्वारा उग्निचाया । नन वौद्य वक्तव्यत्वात्मनाशयवद्वा झाइवद्वाजपग्निमुखा
मुखपादाख प्रभूर्माण दाम्भाद्वा । अधिकरण ३ ३ ५ ३

In the Mahâbhârata the word Dakshinapatha occurs frequently. In the Sibhuparva (31, 17) we are told that Sihadeva went to Dakshinapatha after conquering the Pandavs. From the Vanaparva we learn that Dakshinapatha was to be reached after crossing Avanti and mountain Riksha.¹ In the Bhishmaparva we are told that Nila, King of Mahishmati with troops called Nilayudhas from Dakshinapatha fought on the side of the Kauravas (Cil. Ed. of 1834 verse 575). In the Nânghat inscription (No. 1 in A. S. W. I. Vol. V, p. 60) Vedisiri is mentioned as the king of Dakshinapatha about 200 B. C. In the Ramayana, Dakshinapatha is enumerated along with Saurashtra (II, 10, 27). Patanjali (210 B. C.) in his Mahabhîshyak (on Panini, I, 1, 19) says that in Dakshinapatha a great lake is called 'Sirasi' instead of "Siris". In the well known Gutmir inscription of the Kshatrapa Rudridaman (150 A. D.) Sitalarni is spoken of as the King of Dakshinapatha.² One of the Nasli inscriptions mentions Dakshinapatha (A. S. W. I. IV, p. 110). The Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta (middle of the 4th century A. D.) mentions several kings of Dakshinapatha vanquished by that brilliant Gupta Emperor.³ It is not necessary to refer to writers later than the 4th century A. D. Among ancient foreign books it is the Periplus (1st century A. D.) that first mentions Dakshinabides (Dakshinapatha).⁴ Fa Hian (in India from 399 to 415 A. D.) speaks of a country called 'Ta thsin' Dakshina, which seems to correspond with the narrower sense of Dakshinapatha (for which see further on). He says: Going two yojanas south from this, there is a country called 'Ta thsin'. Here is a Sangharama of the former Buddha Kasyapa. It is constructed

एत गच्छति वहा पायाने दक्षिणापथम् ।
अद्यनीपूर्ववत् च ममलिकाय पर्वतम् ॥
एष विद्यु महार्थेन पवोणा च ममदग्ना ॥
एव पाप्त विद्मेशामसी गग्नि कोसलान् ।
अत पर च देशोय दक्षिणे दक्षिणापथ ॥

Vanaparva Chap. 61, 187.

This was said by Nala when leaving Nishadha. It properly expected these lines mean that while going from Nishadha to Dakshinapatha one had to cross the territory of Avant (Eastern Malwa) and Riksha Parata (probably the Gopura Range), that several roads led from Nishadha to Dakshinapatha and that Vada had formed part of Dakshinapatha.

* 'दक्षिणापथे हि पठाति सर्वसि सर्वय इत्युच्यते ।' Vol. I p. 73 (K. ello n). In another place he speaks of the Dakshinapath as being very full of तदित विषतदित रामिणास्या' Vol. I p. 8.

¹ T. A. Vol. VII p. 612. A. S. W. I. II p. 28.

² See Cor. Vol. I. V. & III p.

³ See T. A. Vol. VIII p. 442.

ed out of a great mountain of rock hollowed to the proper shape.
The country of "Gaitham" is precipitous and the roads dangerous."

I have thus traced the occurrence of the name Dakshinapatha from the times of the Baudhikas in the Simili (500 B.C.) to the times of Samudragupta and Fa-Hien.*

I shall next turn to other places in the peninsula of India referred to in ancient records.

Katyayana in his Vartikas has several important allusions to places in the south. He mentions a country named Mahishmati (in his Vartika on Panini IV, 2, 87) and the Purindias (in Vartika on Panini IV, 2, 269). Is it too much to suppose that this country called Mahishmati is identical with the Mahisamangala referred to in the Mahavamsa and with Mahishmati a city on the Narmada? The countries of Chola and Kerala are included in the Kambojadigana^a and Kishkindha is mentioned in the Parashuradicana (Panini VI, 1, 157). The edicts of Asoka furnish very interesting information about the peninsula of India. The 2nd Rock Edict mentions the Cholas, Pandya, Satyaputras and Kekala (Kerala) puta. The 5th Rock Edict speaks of the Rasikas and the Petenikas and the Aparantias. Who the Rasikas were is not settled beyond doubt. General Cunningham thought it to be a name of Surashtra (Kathiawar). The word corresponds to the Sanskrit word Rishirnika and may have been employed to denote

* See Beau's Fa-Hien Vol. I p. LXVIII

^a The prevalence of the name of Dakshinapatha gives rise to the term Ultrapatna for the whole or some part of Northern India. In the Harshacharita we read that Rajendra was sent to Ultrapatna to vanquish the Hugas (Bom S S P. 10). In a Chalukya inscription Emperor Harsha is called the son of उत्तरापथ (U T T R A P A T H A) Vol. 14 p. 26 श्रीमदुन्नरापयाधिगतिभीहर्षपदाज्ञोपत्त्वादनामधेय *** भीषुकेशिवाम) In another grant Pulakes II is described as 'समरसंसक्तसकलोन्नरापथेरभीहर्षपदाज्ञोपत्त्वादैश्वरापदामधेय सत्यापय भीषुकेशिवभगवान्' (I.A. V. 1.8 p. 46). In the घटजातक (Cowell Vol. IV p. 50 No. 454) King महाक्षस is said to have reigned in उत्तरापथ in the कर्ण district. A Buddhist inscription of the 10th Century has उत्तरापथ for Northern India (I.A. Vol. 17 pp. 307-308). The बृहस्पतिता (१-५) and the भागवतपुराण (१०-६) refer to उत्तरापथ. Is Oshadha in a Nasik inscription (B.G. Vol. 16 p. 577; A.S.W.I. IV p. 14) a भाकृत equivalent of भीतरापथ? The Commentator of the कामसूक्त identifies उत्तरापथ with Lakshika (II. 5 p. 120). Stories dealing with उत्तरापथ are spoken of in the Pañchika (Vinayapitaka Vol. III p. 6).

* कर्मदोत्तरादिभ्य इति पवत्त्वम् यत्तिर्वा वा १. १७३.

* See A.S.W.I. Vol. II p. 16.

See A.S.W.I. Vol. II p. 1.

the people of that country that afterwards came to be called Mahārāshtra. The Petenikas are generally regarded to be so denominated after Pratishthina (Modern Paithan). The words 'Anje Āpirantu' occurring in the 5th Edict at Kharla, Lārnar and Dhaub, if interpreted as meaning 'other western countries,' lead to the conclusion that the Rishis and Petenikas must have been some people in the west. The 13th Rock Edict mentions the Cholas, Pandyas, Andhras, Palindas and couples the Bhojas and Petenikas (Petenikya at Khalsi) together.¹ The Bhojas ruled in the Berars for several centuries.² The Varishas of Katyayana mention the Bhojas as Kshatriyas.³ The Bhishut Stupa (200 B.C.) in the Central Provinces records in an inscription on one of the pillars of the railing a gift from Gorikhita (Gorakshita) of Nasik.⁴ The Nanaghat inscription points out that about 200 B.C. the country about Junnar was the seat of civilization and Brahmanical culture. Patanjali in his Mahabhishaya notices Kanchipura, Kerala, Mahishmati, Nasikya (Nasik) and Vardarbha.⁵ In the times of the Suttupipita we meet with the story that the disciples of Buddha with their faces turned to the north went to Patulihana of Alaka first, then to Mahissati and then to Ujjent.⁶ The Periplus of the Erythraean sea speaks of Pethana (modern Panthin) and Tagara as two specially important in the towns of Dakkhinabades (Daksinaputra).⁷ Ptolemy also mentions Bruthana as the royal seat of Ptolemaios (Palurmiyi).⁸

Taking all that has been said above about Dakshinaputra and the notices of various places and countries in the peninsula of India, we can affirm that several centuries before the Christian era the whole of the peninsula from Cape Comorin to the Narmada had been explored that it contained populous and prosperous cities at that period and that it was divided into several well-organized kingdoms.

I shall now try to point out the extent of the country known as Dakshinapatha. The word seems to have been used in some cases for the whole of the peninsula from the Setu to the Narmada, as for

¹ See A. S. W. I. Vol II pp. 80-87

² भीष्मक king of the Bhojas in Bhishakata and called ruler of the दक्षिणात्यं subento अराधना. See for references J. R. A. S. F. 1908 p. 315.

³ See Varsha, on ४५५ IV ३८

⁴ Cunningham's Bharhati ५६ pa. p. 135

⁵ 'मासिनगोपालितय थमो दान वसुकस भारियाय'

⁶ Vol II p. 203 (काञ्चीपुर, काञ्चीपुरक) Vol II p. 230 (वेरल) Vol II p. 35 (भाटिमती), Vol III, p. 40 (नासिक्य 'नासिक नगरान्तरि सकाशादिषु पाठ करिष्यते)

⁷ See S. B. E. Vol 10 (Part 1) p. 182.

⁸ Schott's Peripl. p. 47. See 1.

⁹ Macmillan's P. 1901 p. 75

example in the grant of the eastern Chalukya King Vishnu-Vardhanā Rājarṣī I, which speaks of the founder Vishnu-Vardhana as having conquered the seven and a half states Dakshinapathī¹ between the Siu and the Narmada. So also in the inscription of Samudragupta Pishjavari (modern Pithapuram in the Madras Presidency), Eranda palli (Erandol in Khondesh), Kinchil Vengi and Devirāshīri are included in Dakshinapathī, i.e., it covered the whole of the peninsula from the Narmada to Cape Comorin. The Purāṇas understand the word Dakshinapatha in the same sense (See Viṣṇu Chap 45.100 ff., Matsya Chap 114, Brāhma Chap 27.54 ff.) But the word Dakshinapatha was usually understood as designating a more limited territory excluding Mahārāshtra and the Deccan countries and covering a large portion of modern Bihar, the Central Provinces, the Narmada Dominions and the whole of Mahārāshtra excluding the Konkan i.e., the country a little below the Narmada and above the Kṛishna.² As Śāṅkera is said in the Mahābhārata to have gone to Dakshinapatha after conquering the Puravas, it follows that the Pandya territory in the extreme south of India was not included in Dakshinapatha.³ The Viṣṇu purāṇa mentions the Godāvarī, the Kṛishna and others as rivers of Dakshinapatha rising in the Sahya mountain but does not style the Tapi and the Narmada in that way. Hence it may be assumed that they were not looked upon by the author of that Purāṇa as included in Dakshinapatha. The Periplus⁴ seems to have included in Dakshinapatha all the country from Barīgarh (Bronch) to Naura and Tyndis the first markets of Damirica (i.e., the Dravida country). The term 'Deccan' in modern times is similarly employed to designate the whole of the peninsula from the Narmada to Cape Comorin.⁵ The commentator of the Kamasutra

¹ See "In vol 12 p 35 'मैत्रेयं द्वाराय साधमालश्च दक्षिणापथं पात्यामास' राजशीर्वा बालरामायण VI Act (Benares Pandit Vol III for 1868-9, p 131) speaks of Kaverī (Narmada) as the dividing line between आयवान् and दक्षिणापथ 'या किंल भगवन् आयवान्दक्षिणापथयोर्भिगुरेत्'

² See Foulkes n 1 & Vol 16 as p 4. Bon G' Vol 1 part 1 p 12.

³ सभापत्र 31 ८६-८७ 'मुदुवे पाञ्चशतीन् दिवस चकुरामुत एत जिन्वास महावाहु यथाद्विष्णवधम् । मुहामासाद्यामास विश्वामी द्विविष्णुताम् ॥ तदा रत्नान्युपादाय पुरी माहिमती यदा ।

⁴ See Schol's Periplus p 64.

⁵ In this sense it is that part of भरतवर्ष, which was beyond the pale of Aryāvarta. The Brāhma Sūtra says 'The country of the Dravida lies to the east of the region where the river Saras still disappears to the west of the hills forest to the north of the पाटियापर्वत is said to be the so that of हिमालय' (गार्विनश्चनात्तद्यात्तद्वत्वात् दधिष्ठेन विम-

says that Dakshinapatha is the country to the south of the Narmada. It also more usually denotes the territory between the Narmada and the Krishna and pretty closely corresponds with Maharashtra when used in an extended sense.¹ The term Dakshinapatha was thus applied in the centuries preceding and immediately following the Christian era to that territory which was also called Maharashtra in later times.

MAHARASHTRA

I shall now take up the question as to the early notices of Maharashtra. The term Maharashtra as the name of a country does not occur so far as is at present known in any record before the Christian era. It does not occur in the Rāmāyaṇa nor in the Mahabharata, though the Puranas mention the country of Maharashtra (Ayu 45 110 and Brahma 27 55 and Mirkutdeva 57 46 all of which put the Mithikas or Mahishakas after Maharashtra, while the Matsya Chap. 114 reads Navarashtra before Mahishka). Probably the earliest unmistakable reference to Maharashtra occurs in the Mihiravamsa the Chronicle of Ceylon the traditional date of which is 459–474 A.D.² The Mihiravamsa mentions that certain Theros were sent as missionaries to several countries by Moggaliputta Tissa in the 17th year of the reign of Asoka. He deputed the Thero Mayhantiko to Kashmir and Gandhara and the Thero Mahadeva to Vahsamandala. He deputed the Thero Rakkhito to Unnasi and the Thero Yonadhamma Rakkhito to Apurantika. He deputed the Thero Mahindhammarakkha to Maharashtra the Thero Mahakalita to the Yona country.³ Then again we read

दत्तपुरुष पारियात तदायावत् नेत्रिमूर्य भानार स पथिष्यम । गगायमुनपार तामित्यके ।
दीधापन । १२५४८ S.R.E Vol. 4, p. 473 Patanjali in his Mahabhashya gives the same list of Bharatavat (‘भारतशास्त्रं पश्चाद्वालवानात् दधिगेन हिमवत्मुनोऽपारियात्मूर्य’ & alibam. Vol. I 475 and Vol. III 74) The मनुस्मृति II p. 93 places Bharatavat between the eastern and western oceans and between the दिमास्य and the विष्ण्य (आसमुदात्मे पूर्वामपुदात्मे पश्चिमात्मे । तयोरेवा तरमिवैरायाच्चैव वदुन्धा ॥) The अमरकोश says ‘भारिवते दुष्यमुर्मिष्य विष्ण्यहिमाणये’

¹ See V. A. Smith “Early History of India,” Chap. 5 p. 421 (3rd edition). Aṅga’s Ancient India, p. 29. Dr Shambudkar appears to take the term Deccan in this restricted sense. In his History of the Deccan

² Prof. Dr Fleet holds that the महाराज was composed between 300–500 A.D. I de J. R. A. S. for 1907 p. 322. See also Introduction to the महारेश by Geiger and Bode p. XII. भासुमेन reigned at the beginning of the 6th century after Christ. About this time the महाराज was on power.

³ Turnour’s Maha sāstra p. 2. Coomaraswamy’s Maha sāstra Chap. XII p. 83 and p. 85 see also V. Jayapataka (Göttingen), Vol. III p. 3 & the Samantapādikā which mentions the same gods even and in somewhat

'the sanctified disciple Mahadhammadra rakkhuo repairing to Maharajta preached the Mahmarada Kassapo Jataka'¹ The Bihat samhita of Varahamihira (about 550 A D) mentions the people of Maharashtra² In the Ahole inscription of 634 A D the Chalukya Satyashraya Pulakesi II is praised as having attained to the position of the overlord of the three Maharishikas.³ The famous Chinese traveller, Hiouen Thsang who was in India between 629-645 A D, names Maharashtra as Moholich and gives very interesting and detailed information about it.⁴ The Karmisutra in a coarse way registers the peculiarities of the women of Maharashtra. The Prikrit grammar of Vararuchi refers to Maharashtra as the Prikrit *par excellence*. That the term Maharashtra when used for a Prakrit dialect, must be connected with the country of Maharashtra is expressly stated by Dandin⁵ (6th century A D).

The above data go to establish beyond the possibility of doubt that from the 5th century at all events the term Maharashtra began to be employed as the name of a country.

But the matter does not rest here. We can urge though not without hesitation that the name Maharashtra goes back to a few centuries before the Christian era. As the Mahavarma is based upon ancient traditions, it is not unlikely that the names of the various countries mentioned by it as the centres of the proselytising activities of Buddhist Missionaries had come down to it from ancient times and were not invented by it. Then we have to note that in several inscriptions at Nanaghat, Bhaja, Karla and Kanheri (ranging from 200 B C to 200 A D) male donors have the appellation Maharajhi prefixed to their names and female donors are designated Maharghini.⁶ The

¹ Tuncour's *Maha. annos* p. 76

² दृहं महिता (Bhern. ed. 1108) 'माये रसवेत्तयिण पद्यपाकम्बद्धा महाराष्ट्रः'

³ L.A. V. I. 8, p. 241 ff. अगमदत्तिविलयो महाराष्ट्राणां नदनक्तिमहस्यप्राप्ताणां प्रधाणाम् ॥ ८ ॥

⁴ See Head's *Buddhist Records of the Western World* Vol. II, p. 297 ff.; Reis's *Life of Hiouen Thsang* p. 140; Item C I Part II p. 184; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* p. 553 ff.

⁵ काम्यादर्श । ३१ 'महाराष्ट्रयो भायो प्रजुः प्राप्तत विदुः'

⁶ See A. N. W. I. Vol. 1 p. 60 (Nanaghat No. 1) 'वेदिमिति महाराष्ट्री' Burgess and Bhagwanlal's *State Inscriptions of Western India*, p. 41 (Bhaja Cave inscription) '॥ १ ॥ महाराष्ट्रिस द्वौमित्रीपुत्रम शिंगुदत्तम शब्द p. 46 (Bhaja Cave No. 2) पद्याभापद्याहृष्टाय महादेविग महाराष्ट्रिय ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ p. 49 (Kanheri inscription No. 2) 'महाराष्ट्रिस द्वौपुत्राः अग्निमित्यणकस ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ Vol. 3 p. 98 (Kanheri No. 29) 'महाराष्ट्रिय महारिष्याय महाराष्ट्रिय ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ p. 100 (Kanheri No. 29) 'महाराष्ट्रिय महारिष्याय महाराष्ट्रिय ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥'

bearing of this on the origin of the term Maharashtra will be discussed later on. Scholars like Dr Stevenson and Dr Bhagwanlal think that the terms 'Maharishi' and 'Maharajhi' in these places mean 'great warrior' and 'wife of a great warrior' respectively. But I submit with great deference to these eminent scholars that there are serious objections against their interpretations. In the first place there is no great propriety in calling a person a 'Maharathi' (gri or warrior) in making a brief votive dedication. Moreover, if we scan the numerous inscriptions contained in the books referred to in the note above, we shall find that they generally register the donor's domicile, his residence, his rank and position his clan or family, his occupation and his relationship by blood or otherwise to other people. In this light to interpret 'Maharishi' as meaning one who belongs to the country or clan of 'Maharashtra' would be very natural and appropriate. Besides it is not clear that all the donors to whose name the appellation 'Maharajhi' is prefixed were such persons as to deserve the high sounding title 'Maharathi'. On the contrary some of them at least appear to have been persons of a more peaceful turn of mind. It will be seen from the inscriptions to be found at the places referred to above that the donor's name is almost invariably preceded by a word denoting his place of residence in the ablative or by some derivative word co-ordinated with the donor's name (whenever his place of residence or domicile is at all intended). There is no reason why this should not be so in the case of Maharishi or Maharajhi. But the most formidable objection is that the interpretation entirely begs the question at issue. To those who affirm that the term 'Maharajhi' signifies a person of the country or clan of Maharashtra it would not be a satisfactory answer to say that, as Maharashtra is specifically mentioned as a country only from the 5th Century A.D. the term 'Maharajhi' must be interpreted differently. The only way of making their interpretation doubtful would be by showing that in parts of India other than Maharashtra and in connection with persons who could not have belonged to Maharashtra the term 'Maharajhi' is used in Prakrit epigraphical records of the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era in the sense of 'great warrior'.

I think therefore it is possible (I do not use a stronger phrase) that Maharashtra was so called from about 200 B.C. (the age of the Nanaghat inscription) if not earlier.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME MAHARASHTRA

It is unfortunate that scholars are not at one as to the origin of the term Maharashtra. It was Molesworth who in his Marathi Dictionary (Intro. p. 2623) started the startling theory that Maharashtra was

so called after the Mahars, one of the lowest castes among Hindus, the members of which are untouchable. The Rev Dr John Wilson lent the weight of his authority to that theory.¹ He quotes the Marathi proverb मोर आहे तेहे महाराष्ट्रा आहे in support of his opinion and compares the word with Gurjari राश्ट्री Saurashtra or Sura rashtra (the country of Suras). The idea of these venerable scholars seems to be that the Mahars represent the aboriginal races of the present Maharashtra, who were vanquished by the Aryan invaders from the north and that the conquerors called the land the conquered aborigines inhabited after the latter. I frankly own that I fail to understand how the Marathi proverb supports the theory that Maharashtra is the country of Mahars. All that the proverb literally means is that the Mahars are to be found in every village and it implies nothing more than the expression 'black sheep' does in English. This theory finds believers even now.² Oppert identifies the Mallas with the Mahars and says 'Maharashtra was also called "Mallarashtra" the country of the Mallas. The Mallas are the same as Maras who are better known as Murs or Mhars. Mhar was eventually transformed into Mahar in fact both forms exist in modern Marathi. Two terms identical in meaning Mallarashtra and Maharashtra were thus used. The former dropped into oblivion and with the waning fortunes of the Mahars their connection with the name was soon forgotten and Maharashtra was explained as meaning the 'Great kingdom' instead of the 'kingdom of Mahars or Mallas' (on the original inhabitants of Bharatavarsa' 1893 p. 22 and foot note). A more uncritical passage than this it would be difficult to find. Has Dr Oppert brought forward any single epigraphic record of the ancient Mahar kings of Maharashtra? By what philological laws does he identify Malli with Mhar? Has he shown any ancient Sanskrit writings locating the Mallas in what is Maharashtra at present? Parvati which Dr Wilson identified with Ptolemy's Pouravaroi, is not the name of a tribe but an official designation. It is the same as Patavari the holder of a Pippa a royal or other grant on copper or a piece of cloth (e.g., a village or other officer). Reliance is placed on what the Mahars say as to their being the original inhabitants. Granting that they are so it does not necessarily follow that Maharashtra was so named after them. There are numerous scholars who dismiss this theory of the origin of the name Maharashtra as untenable. It is not explained how of all others it was the Mahars,

¹ See Vol III p. 221.

² See Baden-Powell in J. R. A. S. for 1895 p. 302, five notes a

³ e.g. See Sir Walter Elliot in I. A. V. L. 5 p. 168

who are lowest in the social scale that give a name to the country. In the case of the Gurjaras we can understand a country being designated after them as they were conquerors. Geography has failed to bring forward the slightest trace of the conquest of Maharashtra by the Mahars at any period of history. There are scholars who would identify the Mahars with the Mihiras (Persian 'Mihir') and Mutrakas who were a branch of the Huns that under Toramana and Mihirakula overthrew the early Guptas in Kathiawar and in their turn met their match in the Senapati Bhatarka¹ of Valabhi. Granting for a moment the correctness of this identification it is not clear how Maharashtra came to be called after them. Ancient history does not tell us when the Mihiras or Mutrakas overran the Maratha country as they are said to have overrun Sindh, Rajputana and Kathiawar. If the Mahars were like the Mutrakas conquerors no explanation is offered why they fell so low in the social scale in subsequent times. But the best reason for rejecting this theory of the identity of the Matrakas with the Mahars and of Maharashtra being named after the Mahars is furnished by the date mentioned above as to the times when Maharashtra came to be so called. The Huns under Toramana and Mihirakula fought the Gupta Emperors in the latter half of the 5th Century A.D.² But we have already seen that the Mahars were composed about the same time mentions Maharashtra as the name of a country. Hence the term Maharashtra had come into vogue at least as early as the time when the Huns under Toramana were fighting Skandagupta. If we accept the theory that Maharashtra was so named after the Mahars by the Aryavadas in the dawn of the history of the Deccan it is not unreasonable to expect that the earliest references to the country south of the Vindhyas should mention Maharashtra. Instead of the latter we had such names as Ambika and Dakshinapatha. Eminent scholars like Dr Fleet think that the earliest mention of Maharashtra as a country is that in the Mahabharata. But it can never be said that the present Maharashtra was conquered by the Aryavadas only in the 4th century A.D. or thereabouts. Aryavada culture had spread over Maharashtra several centuries before the due of the Mahabharata.

¹ Oppert's *A handbook mentioned above p. 47* says that Mihirakula (Ajmer) and Mihirakula (Gadhara) are the ancient home of the Mihiras. See I. A. Vol. 3 pp. 262a, where the Mihirs are traced as having even now a seat in Mevar in Rajputana. According to G. T. part 1, pp. 28-9 Dr Fleet in his lot. epigraphs, p. 231 suggests that the Mutrakas, that is, the Mihirs, were the particular family or clan among the Hunas to which शिरपात्र and शिरपत्र belonged. But notwithstanding J. R. A. S. for 1935, p. 4.

² See Cor. I. N. & S. 1935, 18 and note. Iam. 6. 3. 1. Fleet, p. 3.

What then is the origin of the term *Maharashtra*? Two solutions seem possible. The one is very ably set forth by Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in his 'Early History of the Deccan'.¹ The Rāshikas or—according to Manshera version Rājikas, corresponding to the Sanskrit *Rashtrikas*, were very likely the people of *Maharashtra*, for a tribe of the name of *Rajas* has from the remotest times held political supremacy in the Deccan. One branch of it assumed the name *Rashtrakāṭas* and governed the country before the Chalukyas acquired power. In later times chieftains of the name of *Raj* is governed Sugandhavarti or Saundatti in the Belgaum District. Bhojas we know ruled over the country of Vidarbha or Berar and also in other parts of the Deccan.

Just as the Bhojas called themselves *Mahabhojas*, the Rāshikas, Rajas, Rājikas or Rajas called themselves *Maharājhas* or *Maharājhis* and thus the country in which they lived came to be called *Maharashtra*, the Sanskrit for which is *Maharashtra*.²

This is one set of explaining the origin of the term *Maharashtra*. The only objection against this explanation is that the connecting links are rather weak. The Rashtrakāṭas attained to the sovereignty of the Deccan only in the 8th Century A.D. while the term *Maharashtra* came into vogue at least three centuries before that period. It is the Andhrabhattas or Satavahanas the *Vikāyakas* and the Chalukyas that held the sovereignty of the Deccan in succession from 200 B.C. to about 750 A.D. With great diffidence I make bold to suggest another explanation of the term *Maharashtra*. *Maharashtra* means 'great or wide country'. From the remotest times of which historic records are available there was a great forest running through the peninsula of India variously designated *Mahidhara* or *Durgikhetra* or *Mahidwari*. As the great forest came to be gradually cleared up and exploded its towns and villages sprung up, as population increased this great tract of forest land came to be called *Maharashtra* as also *Mahadeva*.

¹ Proc. G. S. Vol. I part 1 p. 146. But see Proc. G. S. Vol. I, p. 185 note 2, where Dr Fleet criticizes the views of Dr Bhandarkar and takes *Mahadeva* as meaning 'wife of a great warrior' and calls attention to such Marathi words as श्रीमती राजीवा & श्रीमती विजया. The reason is that the श्रीमती common denominator is the श्रीमती of Rajputana and known and that *Ratna* is an abbreviation of श्रीमती and not the original name of which श्रीमती was simply known as the *Rashtrakāṭas* think. See Proc. G. S. I, 1, p. 186. There is much to be said in favour of Dr Fleet's remarks & of the terms *Rashtri* and *Rashtrakāṭa* can be really shown to closely connect according to the rules of philology. But the meaning he assigns to *Maharashtra* would be accepted for convenience see above. Besides author does not tell us that the *Rashtri* *tribes* got the name *Maharashtra* at the time when the name *Mahadeva* was coined for the first time.

ura¹. It was probably during the time of the Andhrabhattiyas or Satavahans that Maharashtra came to be so called (*i.e.*, about 200 B.C.). The Satavahanas were very powerful and their dominions extended from the Coromandel Coast on the east to the Ghauts on the west. Paithan was their capital in the western portion of the Deccan. There are many countries the latter portion of the names of which ends in Kashatra, the first portion being not always easily explicable. Kathua-

¹ See Parrot's article on the Geography of Rama's reign in J.R.A.S. for 1894 p. 242. He comes to the conclusion that in the times of the Ramayana Dandakaranya appears to have been a general name which comprised all the forest from Bundelkhand down to the river Narmada. According to the list of Tirthas in the Varanapria (Chap. 85, 40-42) the Dandakaranya seems to have been located somewhere between the Tapti and Pseyoghi on the one hand and Central India on the other. Born G. Vol. 23 p. 128, says that eight places in the Beawar District such as Avail, Badli, Bagalkot, &c. are connected by local tradition with the Dandaka forest. The Ramayana speaks of a city called Va Jayanta in Dandakaranya अयोध्याकान्त १०४ 'दिवामारथापुरं केषीं दशिणा दाढकान् प्रति । वैश्यन्तमिति छात तुर यत्ति मिति ॥' Is Va Jayanta the same as Vagyavati the Byzantium of Ptolemy? The Varangadeva Purana enumerates the Vaishyahs along with the Dandakas (Chap. 57, 47 'वैद्यन् दाढके मठ') The Periplus after referring to the region called Dakshinadesa says 'The inland country back from the coast toward the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains and all kinds of wild beasts leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas, baboons of many sorts and many populous nations as far as the Ganges'. (Schöffer's edition p. 43. See, also, Hsüen-Tsang's travels contain a reference to a wild forest between King Kusapulo (कौसपुल) and Moholacha (महोलाच). From thence going northward we enter a great forest full of fierce savage beasts and bands of robbers inflicting injury on travelers. Going thus 800 or 900 miles we come to the country of Moholacha (Beal's Buddhist Records, Vol. II, p. 353). Even so late an author as Hemadri locates Deogiri in Nevgadeva, which he says was on the confines of the Dandakaranya (Born G. I part 2 p. 231). The Allahabad stone-purusha inscription of समुद्रगृही informs us that the region called महाकान्ता formed a part of Dakshinapatha (Corpus Ins. I Vol. III p. 2). The kshetra copperplate of महाशत्रुघ्नी (मुमुक्षु शत्रुघ्नी सुश्री १०) speaks of ग्रीष्मेन्द्रि राजा of महोलं एव रोम्य दब्बला (Bundelkhand) in the 18 forest kingdoms. (Corpus Ins. III p. 164) The शूद्रसंहिता mentions a country called महाकृष्णि in the south 'कणीश्वार्गविविष्टूर्णासिवप्रौद्योगिकीमीति' Chap. 14, v. 13. In the Uttarakanya the दण्डकारण्य - located between विष्णु and शैवं लक्ष्मी and is said to have been originally a prosperous kingdom ruled by दण्डि the youngest of the hundred sons of इडंविष्टि and reduced to a wilderness for having committed a rape on the daughter of भृष्णि (Chap. 8 v. 18-19). The कामसूत्र describes the plight of king दाढ़कारण्योजि, who perished for casting an impure eye towards a Brahmin girl. The commentator says that his kingdom was the same as दण्डकारण्य.

war has, from very ancient times, been named *Surashtira*.¹ We do not know for certain why it was called a good kingdom. Perhaps it was so called because it was a fertile or flourishing country. Some explain it as the land of Sus. But what people were called Sus, nobody can definitely say. In various epigraphical records we come across regions called *Karnasurashtra*, *Gopurashtra*, *Devurashtra* and *Purvarashtra* without being able to determine their exact location.² From the details furnished in the note below it will be seen that all these four regions were included in *Dikshunapitha* used in the wider sense. Hence it is possible to derive *Maharashtra* as meaning the Great Country.³

THE EXTENT AND BOUNDARIES OF MAHARASHTRA

It is difficult to assign exact limits to the extent of *Maharashtra* in ancient times. In modern times the exact boundaries may be approximately obtained by taking the extent of the territories over which the Marathi language is spoken. On the west it extends from

¹ The *Baudhayana Smriti* mentions सुराट् as a country with people of mixed origin (See page 6 & above). In the *Pāṇini Sākshāt* Saurashtra woman is referred to. The रामायण speaks of सीराषः as the alias of दशरथः प्राचीनामिस्तुमीवीरान् सीराषैयोग्या पादिवान्॥ (I.12.37) ² द्वारिदा सिंहमीवीरा मीराट् दक्षिणापथा ॥ (III.10.37). In a Nasik inscription of Gotamputra the Prakrit form *Surastra* occurs (J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. V, p. 16.+) In the Ghera inscription of हसदामन्, सुराट् is mentioned (A. S. W. I. Vol. II p. 100). In the Junagadh rock-cut inscription of रुद्रगुरु (155 A.D.) was read सर्वं मृत्येश्वरपि सहस्रेतु यो नै श्रिविष्णविलिलाम् सुराट्वान्. (Cor. Ins. I. Vol. III p. 9). A grant of भूक्षेत्र of वलभी dated वलभीसत्रत् 316 (67 A.D.) has सुराट् बालपदपथके भेषजतयाम् । (I. A. Vol. VI p. 151). See Bom. G. Vol. I. part I. p. 6. Its earliest foreign mention + perhaps Strabo's (B.C. 50 to 50 A.D.) *Sorastene* and Pliny's (A.D. 70) *Oratene* Ptolemy and the Periplus call it *Sorastrene*. The *Nilādipika* (S. B. 2. Vol. 36 p. 451) refers to the people of *Surashta*.

³ A कर्मसाट् country is mentioned in an earthen धार्मिक grant (I. A. 3. 4. no. p. 100) मीराट् seems to be Dash. नामरथन्, son of जयसिंह brother of the great उद्दीपि (II. 11) made a grant of Balegrāma in the गोपराष्ट्र district (J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. II p. 1. 101 J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. 14 p. 16) and from G. I. part 2 p. 182. In the उत्तरायण Chap. a. 24. we meet with a country called गोपराष्ट्र दर्शन् mentioned as a part of दक्षिणापथ conquered by हसदामन् (Cor. Ins. L. Vol. III p. 7). A few hundred had to identify with मेहाटाट् or देवगिरि (U. R. A. S. Cor. 8.77 p. 824). The Arang copperplate of श्रीमहादेवाराज records a grant of Pāniśā in the country of पूर्वाट् from शत्रमुख and the Rayner copper plate contains a grant of श्रीमाधिका in the पूर्वाट् made from शत्रमुख (Cor. Ins. I. 3. 4. II. pages 101 and 102).

⁴ Dr. E. Venkī (introduced in the South Indian Palong upto p. 21) said that Rājasthā was in theological parlance of Hattis which he held to be equivalent to *Canarese* and *Telugu Rājā* or *Kalīgi*.

Uman to Goa, on the north it extends partly to the river Narmada and in some places to the Tapi, which separates it from Gujarat. From the neighbourhood of Gavilgad it turns eastward in the direction of Betul and Seoni. From Nagpur it turns toward the south to Chunda and then to the west along the Punganga river. Then it runs south to the Godwari, from which in an irregular line it runs southward to Sholapore and Bijapur, from which it gets to the Krishna which separates it from Canarese, then it runs south west and west to Goa.¹ The evidence of language for determining the boundaries of a country is, of course, a very uncertain one. For political and other reasons, languages often come to be spoken by people who originally belonged to a different country altogether and employed a different tongue. In spite of this drawback the boundaries within which a language is current furnish tolerably correct limits for the extent of a country. I hope to be able to show that the boundaries of Maharashtra from ancient times corresponded pretty closely with the boundaries of the Marathi language in modern times.

From the list of countries contained in the Mahavamsa to which Buddhist Missionaries were sent by Mogghaliputta Tissa we can form some estimate, though necessarily vague of the extent of Maharashtra. The countries are Kasmiri, Gindhara, Mahasamudra, Vinasara, Aparantaka, Mahismati, Yona, Himalaya country, and Suvarnabhumi.² Out of these the four countries beginning with Mahasamudra clearly belong to the Deccan. Mahasamudra is the country about Mahismati on the Narmada.³ Vinasara is the ancient kingdom of Banavasi (modern North Canara) and Aparantaka is the strip of land between the Sahyadri and the sea called the Konkan. So we shall not be wrong if we assume that Maharashtra was the country between the Narmada on the north, Konkan on the west and the kingdom of Banavasi on the South. This corresponds very well with the limits of Maharashtra as derived from the boundaries of the Marathi language (except that here Konkan is excluded). The Athochar inscription of 634 A.D. says that there were three Maharashtras which together comprised 99,000 villages.⁴ What these three subdivisions of Maharashtra

¹ See L.A.V. 4 III p. 221 & 222 & of Maith and Be. 43 V. 12 part 2. In relation to dynasties of the Kanara D. tract the limits of Canarese see Lingayat S. 202 & India V. 1 A 11 p. 1.

² See Geiger's ETIENNE, Chap. XII pp. 2-5.

³ See D. Fleet's J.R.A.S. 1870 p. 407 and J. R. A. S. Collected Papers II. M. R. & however also see Mahasamudra in More J. R. A. S. 1870, p. 82 and J. A. S. 1870 p. 22 and in loc. cit. Mr. T. S. George who Ancient India p. 271 has a few words to be the sound of the two.

⁴ See page 26 above.

rashtra were we shall see later on. From several grants the villages mentioned in which can be satisfactorily identified we shall see that in ancient times the villages were at least as large as in modern times.¹ The probabilities are that the sites of villages were, if anything larger in ancient times than at present. Population was not so dense as it is now. The same village was often split up into two in later times. Therefore we shall not much calculate if we take the 99,000 villages comprised in Maharashtra in the 7th Century as having been as large as the villages at present. Dr Fleet says that there are less than 42,000 villages and hamlets in the whole of the Bombay Presidency, excluding Sindh and the Native States.² To allow room for 99,000 villages Maharashtra must have been at least double of this and must have extended up to the Narmada on the North the Krishna on the South, and far into the Central Provinces and the Nizam's Dominions. From Hiouen Tsang's accounts we see that Maharashtra was about 2400 or 2500 li (i.e., about 400 miles according to Cunningham)³ to the north west of Hong kum pu lo (泓口城) and that its extent was about 5000 li (i.e., about 800 miles).⁴ He further says that the capital borders in the west on a great river and that going from Maharashtra 1000 li to the west and crossing the Naimoto (Narmada) we arrive at the kingdom of Po-lukiechepo⁵ (Bharuk Ichchippa i.e. modern Broach). We are further told that on the eastern frontier of Maharashtra there is a rock cut Buddhist Vihara, which seems to have been the Ajanta caves. All these details point to the present Maharashtra excluding Bihar and Central Provinces.⁶ Ajanta is mentioned on the eastern frontier.⁷ All most the same details are given in Hiouen Thsing's I.S.,⁸ except that Broach is said to be to the north west instead of in the west, is in the travels. In the Balur mīyāna of Rajasekhara we find that while Rama and Sita are on their journey from Ceylon to Ayodhyā in the Pushpakavardhan Sugriva draws Rama's attention to Maharashtra and Rama in his turn at the same moment pours into the ears of Shri a eulogy of Vidarbha and then refers to Kuntri as the seat of the

¹ See L.A. 17 p. 187-8; (Flagmura grant of Duddja II dated Salarkarla 491-4 A.D.)
1 A Vol. 17 p. 141 (The halo dāuk grant of Bhūtalamā III dated 515-44 A.D.)
A. D. in this case)

² Rom. C. Vol. I Part A. p. 261 n. 2

³ A.G.I. Appendix B. p. 275.

⁴ Real's Buddhist Records. Vol. II. p. 256.

⁵ Real's B.R. Vol. II p. 257.

⁶ Dr Fleet says that the country called Maharashtra by Hiouen Thsing would have been more appropriately called Kuntri in Mahābhārata. Rom. C. vol. I part 1 p. 145 n. 2.

⁷ See Real's Life of Hiouen Thsing. pp. 262-67.

distances of Cup d.¹ Sita then breaks in by referring to Vidarbha as the home of Indumati the mother of her father in law Dasarathi, while Tripiṭi puts to Sita a conundrum about Narmada. Bija Sekhara was himself a poet of Maharashtra as he informs us that he was the fourth in descent from Akalajalada who is styled 'Maha rishiya Chudimuni' in the first act of the Balaramayana. Maharashtra Vidarbha and Kuntala are here referred to as if in one breath and as being below the Narmada. Alberuni (about 1000 A. D.) says marching from Dhar southwards you come to the valley of Narmaya 7 farsakhs from Dhar Maharashtra 18 farsakhs the province of Konkan and its capital Tana on the sea coast 25 farsakhs.² From this we see that even in Alberuni's day the Konkan was not included in Maharashtra which extended southwards from the Narmada. The commentator of the Kamtsutra says that the country of Maharashtra lies between the Narmada and the Karmatic.

The foregoing discussion gives us a pretty clear idea as to the extent of Maharashtra. The Konkan was generally not included therein. In the present essay also, I shall not, as a rule go into the details of the geography of the Konkan. But from the most ancient times the ports of Konkan such as Sopara and Chaul were the scenes of the greatest maritime activity which brought the Konkan in intimate touch with foreign nations of the West. The ports above the Chauls were in close connection with the ports towns and cities of Konkan as is evidenced by the inscriptions in the Naneghat and other passes in the Konkan. The Konkan was also politically in close connection with the country above the Chauls. Northern Konkan was a portion of the kingdom of the Kshatrapas of Vakatakas and also of the Satavahanas. The Chalukya Emperors Harshavardhan and Pulakeshi II are said to have

¹ Benares Pandit Vol III for 8 B.C. p. 279 ff. (c & b Act) मुम्पीव भरताप्रन अयमग्र
गदाराग्निविषय राम—यत्क्षेम शिद्वाय बट्ट लिगमस्थाप च बल्तासम स्वादिष्ठ च
यदैक्षवादाप रत्नाकृष्ण यदाहूपम् ॥ तदस्मिन् मधुर प्रसादि रत्नवर्त कान्त च काव्यामृत
सोऽय गुभू पुरो विद्मविषय सारथतीवामभू ॥ ५४ किंच । रत्नविद्याविद्वाधाना
निघमोहत्तरम्भट । नित्य वृन्तवर्तकान्तानो विस्त्रो मकरध्यज ॥ ७३ साता—
जहि उण्णणा म विदामहगुरुस्य परिणी इन्दुमरी निजटा—कोट्कोलकलस्य
विड भवनि सा मुरापाम । का च गुता शशितिरकाय विन्प्यमहीथरथाम ॥
साता—नर्मदा

vanquished the Maurya Chakr of the Konkan.² The Silihara Chalukyas of Tham acknowledged themselves to be the vassals of the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed. Through the history of the Konkan is thus closely interwoven with that of Maharashtra, yet as from the most ancient times the Konkan was looked upon as a unit by itself and is distinguished from Maharashtra by physical and topographical peculiarities, I have deemed it necessary to exclude the Konkan from treatment in this essay as far as possible.³

The Rashtrakutas of Malkhed wielded the sovereignty of Maharashtra from about 750 A.D. to 1173 A.D. The dominions and those of the later Chalukyas of Kalyani are often referred to (especially

² Aihole Inscription no. 1 A VIII p. 22.

दोक्षेतु यदादृच्छदप्तम्बुद्धये ।
उदस्तास्तरणे मोयपत्रलम्बुद्धये ॥

³ In the Purang महाराष्ट्र was not included from अपराजित and from the country between the नवीकट and the तापी to the रत्नगीज, महाराष्ट्र, वैदम्भ कौळग, नवदामन्देश and नागरीतदेश were incorporated. See Encyc. C. Vol. I, part 4 p. 134 for the inscription on that अपराजित usually means the Konkan administration of the Deccan. The अपराजित is a title or quality of rain that falls in अपराजित (immeasurable as compared w. i. the rainfall in Aravalli) as 24 inches and greater the अपराजित and the 16 miles are reckoned at a level as regards rainfall. In Aihole Inscription no. 1 A VIII S. II 1 4 V p. 84) we read दिख कनिअगिता भौडिया अपराजिताय दामिकाय पूर्ण वीढि च कवाहासे. Here we see that the husband of दामिका was भौडिया the ruler of अपराजित and that he had son कनिअगित near modern Bombay. He has a gth son named अपाराजित (अपराजित), but whether he means the Konkan is not clear. The Nilgirisamba mentioned Apastambha (B. I. Vol. 26 p. 22) महाभारत आदिपद्म Chapters 21-22 describe अपराजित going from कोलंबे to अपराजित thence to प्रथम, thence to द्वितीय and then to तृतीय. In the inscription of रुद्राम्बु, अपराजित occurs as the name of a single conflux of two from शुद्धा and the other as mines enumerated in एकान्श ल. Vol. II p. 26. We know also that the महाराष्ट्र is one of अपराजित कालिदास says that उत्तराश्वर केरल (Malabar) received the submission of the अपराजित king and then proceeded for the conquest of the प्रभूमीत्य by the land route. See रुद्राम्बु 1 B. 3-4. From the description it is clear that according to कालिदास अपराजित was between the western ocean and the 'holy' mountain (see Verma 5). The शिलालेख of देवदेवी regale a few particularities of the Konkan when. By अपराजित D. Fleet understood the Konkan, & then C. J. de Hartog had a different U. B. 3-4, 10 p. 26. In the opinion of Dr. Fleet we will know the federal model of the अपराजित, the महाभारत इकमध्ये and the north west कर्तव्यग्राम.

in the grants of their opponents) as Rājipati or Rājpāli ७४ Lakh country.¹ There is a sharp conflict of views as to the meaning of this latter expression.² The Imperial Gazetteer (Vol. X, page 291, note) says that these numbers (occurring in such expressions as Rājipati ७४ Lakh, Gingar : ११९६,०००, Noshimbhatti ३२,०००, Bantwara १२,०००, Torigale ६,०००, Kunbi ३,०००, Konkan ५,०००, etc.) refer to their revenue capacity or to the number of their Dads (or districts). Mr. Rue thinks that the numbers denote revenue value and apparently indicated bushkas. Mr. A. J. ingre (Ancient India, p. 78, foot-note) thinks that the c. numbers either indicate the revenue or income or sometimes the quantity of seed required. But Mr. A. J. ingre it does not tell us the purpose for which the seed was required. Dr. Fleet is of opinion that the numbers refer to villages, in some cases grossly exaggerated. Mr. Viresunhachar (see J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 708) brings to notice a new inscription of 90th A. D. from Bandhikā which speaks of the Mahasamanta Lal iteytava as governing ३१ १०१ villages comprising the Bantwara १२,००० the Pilavage १२,००० and Madayaklidi १६,००० etc. The view of Dr. Fleet seems to me to be the right one. In a grant of the Shiltra prince Aparajita of Thinni Konkan is expressly said to contain १,४०० villages.³ We cannot say that taxes were usually collected in money, it was rather the reverse. Besides the numbers attached to various districts remain unchanged for centuries together. It cannot be said that the revenue never fluctuated for centuries but it is very probable that the number of villages did not vary from century to century. Moreover there is nothing to show what the standard of value was with reference to which these numbers were given and that this standard was uniform from Dabhikā (Bundelland) to southern India.⁴ Hence it is better to assume that the numbers refer to villages and hamlets. In this case Rājipati the dominion of the Rājapākṣas, would be very extensive indeed and would stand for a country very much larger than Maharashtra.

¹ See Note C Vol. I, p. 31, N. 22. In the शिल्पाणि grant of १४८ A. D., the second king of the later शत्रुघ्नि ११ वर्षाणि described as ruling over राजपाति and the records of his पीठे opponent राजराजेन्द्र describe the latter as the country of the ७४ Lakh country. See above on दक्षिणाधिका. A spurio शिल्पा inscription of Salankar western Maharashtra appears to call a ruler of a ७४ Lakh country containing १,३०० villages as the अभिमंड़ा²

² A. J. 15 p. 17.

³ See J. R. A. S., m. sp. 62 (Dr. Fleet).

⁴ J. R. F. I. Vol. III, p. 107, 270 चतुर्दशमासपात्रोपभित्तीकण्ठात् -पाति

⁵ An inscription of Harshavarman, son of the last of the Kalachurias of Alandi of Kalash speaks of the lord of फ्रेट राजा अग्नि. A portion of the ७४ Lakh that he owned or Chedi in Gondalind. It is G. V. 1, c. p. 463.

MOUNTAINS OF MAHARASHTRA

The Puranas contain long lists of the mountains and hills of India. The traditional number of the principal mountain ranges is seven.¹ Out of these we are concerned with the Vindhya and the Sahya. The Vindhya runs along the Narmada and thus is on the northern border of Maharashtra, while the Sahya furnishes the western boundary of Maharashtra almost throughout. The Anugita mentions these two mountains along with others.² The Bhavapurana gives a list of subsidiary mountains³ one of which Jashnigiri, the modern Kanheri hill, may be mentioned here although it falls outside the limits of Maharashtra as defined above. The Brhamapura or⁴ (Chap. 27) gives a long list of mountains, none of which can be definitely located in Maharashtra. The Bhagavatapurana also gives a very long list in prose (V, 19-26). It mentions a Dangiri after Sahya. It is not clear by what name the Supura range between the Narmada and the Tapi is referred to in the Puranas. It may be the Riksh Parvata, one of the seven principal ranges or it may have been included under the Vindhya. Mr. Kundalal Day identifies the Vaidurya mountain with the modern Sipora range.⁵ The Riksha

¹ Varupurana, Chap. 45, Verse 26.

² G.B.E. Vol. III p. 36 (अग्नीता Chap. 6) हिमवत्, पारिकाप सद्य विश्व
पितृवत्, मेता, नील (modern Nigdi) भास, षोडशवत्, महाड गुरुरक्षप, महापात्र
are mentioned as the principal among mountains. Is विहृट the same as that mentioned by
कालिदास in रघुवंश 4-5, or is it the same as the विरेशि (Trahau in the Navl Cave
scriptus as) mount near Navlk?

³ Varupurana Chap. 45, vv. 26-28.

⁴

वौलाटल सर्वश्रांगं भन्दरो दर्दराचल । वातनधयो वैशुवथ मैनाक गुरुसहस्रथा ॥ तुङ्गप्रस्थो नागगिरिणोधन पाण्डराचल ॥ पुष्पगिरिवैजयन्तो रेवतोऽसुंद एव च ॥ कृष्णमूकं सगोमन्य (नत + L) कृतशैल कृताचल । आणवंतथकोरथ शातशोऽन्ये च पवता ॥ २२-५	
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⁵ See his geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 7. Pagai mentions
विद्युत विद्युताच्य (IV, 274) from which came the valuable stone वेद्यै पतञिः
comment on the name 'विद्युतोय न इसी विद्युतभवति कि जाह्न वालवायात्प्रभवति
विद्युते सम्बिद्यते वा Vol. II p. 13. A mountain called वेद्यैशिलह is described as being on
the नमदा in the list of Western ताप्ति - the कनप्ति (Chap. 84-5).

yāna in several places speaks of Sibya as a very extensive range.¹ Coming to epigraphical records we have a list of mountains in one of the Nasik inscriptions of Gotumiputra. The mountains mentioned are Hiravati, Meru Mandara Vajras, Chhavati, Parichchiti (Parichchita modern Arwali range including Mount Abu) Sibya, Kanhagiri, Mancha, Srijanā Vilavati, Mahida (Mahendri) Setigiri and Chakravati.² In several Nasik inscriptions, the hill on which the Pandu Lena caves are excavated is called Tirukku Pavata 'Trivishti Pavata' in Sanskrit.³ In several inscriptions of Western India various donors are styled as coming from Śāṅgiri or Saṅgiri. It may stand for the Salsette Hills.⁴ The hill on which the Kanheri Caves were excavated was called Kanhagiri or Kanhasela in the prakrit and कृष्णगिरि in Sanskrit.⁵ In the cave temples of Western India there are inscriptions mentioning several isolated hills e.g., the hill near the Bedse caves seems to have been called Marakuda (Marakūṭa in Sanskrit) and the hill Minamo near Junnar appears to have been designa-

¹ दुदकांड ५७⁴ अपश्यत् विरिपेष्टे सवा गिरिशमायुम् । See also Verses 72, 76.

² See J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. v 48 and also Bom. C. Vol. 16 p. 550 विक्षुपुरद् stands for विष्वधुपुरद्—the विष्व त and धुपुरद् mountains. The धुपुरद् seems to be a portion of the विष्व near नर्मदा or the Sarpurā range कालिदास mentions क्षुपुरद् as a mountain near नर्मदा (ए. V. 44). The धुपुराण (see below) makes the धुपुरद् तारी, पदोन्नी विष्विष्याप रुद्र in the विष्व. That पारियाप was in Mal is seen clearly from the वृहत्पुरुषोत्तमिति विकाशितप्लोऽवति राजा पारियाप मिष्टय कृतबुद्धि ॥ मततिष्ठो मान्योऽप्य वैभवति सम्यक्वागाहीर्थे । Chap. 69. 1. Buhler prefers the form पारियाप. It is suggested in J. B. B. R. A. S. I. p. 5 that मर्ये and मिरितन (३ लाखल) may be Naga. According to Bombari G. Vol. 6 p. 63, मिरितन = धर्मीर in Telengana. What संगिरि is not clear. Dr. Bhag. also takes to be पद्मगिरि. Lata घटगिरि or घटिगिरि? चक्रोर is also mentioned as a mountain in the passage of the धुपुराण quoted above.

³ See Bombay Gazetteer Vol. 6 no. 3. 5. 18, &c.

⁴ See Bih. ges. and Phragmatal & inscriptions from cave temples of Western India p. 4 (Shuda Ins. No. 1) 'महायोग्य मड्डोरिय विजयाप उत्तम महायोग्यम ददृशम &c. the same words in inscriptions (at p. 9 &c.) but in No. 19 we read महायोग्यम माडकरस मुदमग्नस दुर्बुप' &c. See also J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 1 pp. 11-12. Modern Salsette was called पद्मपुर, I do the inscription of the Konkan घक्कार्यि अपरादियदेव of Saka 1709 (३७ ६३ A. D) where the village Mahasav (modern Malad) was said to be included in पद्मपुर (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XII p. 33).

⁵ See A. S. W. I. Vol. 1 p. 50 (Shander Ins. No. 25 of the time of गोतमिपुत्र विश्विष्य महाकृष्ण); 1. 1. 1. 1. p. 131 (Ins. of Saka 265 i.e. B.I. 44 A.D) of पुक्षशवित्र the महासमत of Konkan (कृष्णगिरि).

to 1. Mahabharata¹ The Budhavat Jatilas and other works in Pali mention some passing notices of hills in the Deccan. In the story of the two merchants of Sopara we read of a hill called Madugiri on the seashore near Suppari (modern Separai) on which Punya dwelt for some time whence he returned to Madigiri which was not far from Madugiri.² The only other hill mentioned is Sishibuddhi on the northern watershed of the Narmada when going from Separai to Sevai (Sevvai). Ptolemy mentions seven mountains in this principality. These are, (1) Apokop, called Poma Thon and to be the Aravalli hills, (2) Mount Sardona (the present Satpudi), (3) Mount Ondion (Vindhyas), (4) Utinga, a peak of Malava, (5) Adesithra to the west of which Ptolemy locates both Vindhya (Udumbara) and Ligara (6) Oxudon the eastern continuation of the Vindhya, which McCrindle identifies with Rishivanta, (7) Orondon mountains (which Vale identifies with Vindhyas) the northern section of the Western Ghats. Kshudra when describing the conquering expeditions of Pugna refers to a hill Trishtha in April (Raghuraj p. 59). It is not possible to identify this hill. Dr. Bligh until the last thought that Trishtha refers to certain hills near Junnar (cf. C., V. I. I. p. 1 para 57). To take Trishtha to be the name of a hill (as done in B.G. Vol. I. p. 2, page 13 note 5) in this passage does not seem to be correct.

As far as our present passes very little information is available. But there can be no doubt that some of the present passes in the Western Ghats must have been also in use from ancient times. As we are told in the accounts of Greek writers that Suppari (Bawali) Suppari is Bhar (Bharam) and Semilli (Shirish) on the Western Coast were import of trade to which merchandise from the whole of India was brought for being carried to the ports of the West and is the true stories of merchants proceeding from Sopara on the Konkan Coast. Seawards the passes that connect these coast towns with the cities above the Ghats must have been much used routes even before the Christian era. Merchandise must have flowed to Sopara through the Thal pass and must have connected it with Nasik and the Malva and Nasipass would have brought it in close communication with Junnar and Pandharpur. Descriptions and cave remains at Kundalika, Jamnagar and Amboli in the Ratnagiri District and at Karli, Bhaja and Bedse in the Poona District establish that the Bar pass was much

¹ See Burgess and Burgess, a history of the people of Western India p. 26 (I. Am. No. II and 2. W. I. IV. p. 59. See also p. 46 (Janm. No. 14).

² See Hardy's Manual of British India (2nd Ed.) p. 46. and Fowler's Anti-Quart. I. A. Vol. 6 p. 44.

* See M.C. Bh. 1905 Pt. III p. 23, 24.

resorted to for purposes of trade between 100 and 500 A.D. This holds good of the Kumbharli pass connecting Chiplun and Dabhol with the ancient district of Karshikaka (modern Kirad).

THE RIVERS OF MAHARASHTRA

In the Mahabharata we have perhaps the most copious list of the rivers of India.¹ But it is of doubtful authenticity. The Varu and Matsya Puranas agree remarkably in the list of rivers enumerated by them.² The Brahmana Purana had a similar but slightly different list before it. The Padma Purana (Chap. 6) enumerates the rivers of India in a confused way without specifying the mountains from which they rise. And so does the Bhagavata Purana in prose (V. 19. 18). In an inscription of Ushavadata son-in-law of the Isha tribe Nahrupini, (Nasik No. 10 and 1 V. 12 p. 27 and J. B. B. R. 1. 5, Vol. V, p. 49) we come across the rivers Barnasa, Ib, Parid, Danava, Tapi, Kirihena and Dahmukhi, out of which the Tapi alone falls within the limits of Maharashtra as defined above. In the Girnaratna method idhi of Vardhamani we meet with more than a dozen rivers ending in the suffix -ini but unfortunately none of them can be unmitigately identified.³

We shall now take up the larger rivers of Maharashtra from the Narmada southwards and then enumerate some of the lesser ones. The epigraphic records mention many small and insignificant streams which I shall pass over.

Narmada—The earliest reference seems to be in the Śālikapatha Brahmana⁴ where we read of a priest called Revottara Pativa Chal or Ślikipati. Revottara is another name for Narmada.⁵ We know

¹ भीमपत्र Chap. 9. 14-6. The सभापत्र has a similar list (Chap. 9. 18-21).

² वायुपुरा Chap. 45. 11-12. 24 तापी पयोज्ञी निर्बंधा मद्वा च निक्षा नदी। वैता ॥ v. 1. वैता ॥ वैतरणी चैव शिनिराहु द्विमुखी ॥ तेवा चैव मदागारा दुर्गा चातशिला नद्या ॥ विष्णगदमूलाभ नय पुष्यजला शुभा ॥ गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णा वैयथ वज्रहुला ॥ तद्वयदा सप्तयोगा कावेरी च तथामगा ॥ दक्षिणाधरवर्षतु सप्तपादादिनि मृता ॥ See वस्त्यगुराण Chap. 114. 17. 27-29.

³ दद्युग्मा Chap. 20. 11. 11-3 नर्मदा सुरामायाथनयोविष्यदिनि मृता । तापी पयोज्ञी निर्विन्द्या कवेरीप्रसुता नदी । अङ्गादोद्वा देवा धूता नाप हराति या । गोदावरी भीमरथा कृष्णवैष्णवदिकारतथा । सदावदोद्वा नय &c. See also Chap. 27.

⁴ See गण्ठनमहोदयित्री (Legge's edition) 170.

⁵ B. B. R. Vol. 44. p. 276. 189-192.

⁶ But it is strange that the भागवतपुराण 1. 20. 25 invents the Rivers and Narmada) separated.

from Buddhist stories that Nāga kings on the Narmida requested Buddha to leave his footprint, which is said to be still visible in the Vion country, and that from the river Buddha went to the rock Srichabridha.¹ In the Vimapura the Narmida is mentioned (Chap 85.9). Ptolemy refers to the sources of the Narmindos in the Ouidion range.² In the Brahmi Purana the Narmida is said to spring from Vindhya while the Matsya Purana makes it rise from the Parvati. The latter Purana contains a Mihiranya of the river (Chap 166.8). In the Meghadatta Kalidasa says that the Revā comes into view from the Ānta Kāla hill and that it is to be seen struggling down the slopes of the Vindhya.³ In the Septasati of Hūla the author speaks of the Revā as possessing qualities that transcend those of other rivers.⁴ The Brihat-samhitā mentions the Narmida as under the influence of Mars.⁵ The Amarakośa mentions several synonyms of Revā or Narmadī. Hiuen Thsing tells us that after crossing the Naimoto (Narmadi) we arrive at the kingdom of Polukiechepo (Bharuka chhi, i.e., Branch).⁶

Tapi—In the Mithibhirata the river Tapi seems to have been called Payoshni. In the list of Tirthas in the South the highest praise is bestowed on the Payoshni and it is spoken of as the river of king Agnī.⁷ But the Puranas clearly distinguish between the three rivers Tāpi, Payoshni and Nirvindhyā. These three are said to spring from mountain Laksha according to the Brahmi Purana—while the Matsya and Vyuha make them rise in the Vindhya. Ptolemy mentions the sources of a river Nāripoundra as being in the Ouidon range.⁸ M. Criddle (p. 128) identifies the Tapi with the Nāngouna. The Tapi is included in the list of rivers enumerated in the

¹ See Hardy's Manual of Buddhism (2nd Ed.) p. 215. I. A. Vol. 16 pp. 1-2.

² M. Criddle's Ptolemy p. 102.

³ भैषज्य वेणु २८ 'त्रिष्टुप्तमिति विद्यादेविशीर्णम् ॥

⁴ आप बहला बाला मुहला जलरक्षुणो जल तिरस्तम् । अष्टवर्षिण विदेव तह ति अप्ते गुणा कैवि ॥ माधवपश्चाती ॥ ४

⁵ Keralā वृद्धसेदिता Chap. 6-9.

⁶ Beal's Buddhist Records, Vol. II p. 257.

⁷ वानपर्व २८ 'शतपर्वत्य च सरिन्द्राद्य मर्त्यपदं । रथ्यताथौ वहुवला पदो दी द्विजसेदिता ॥ ५ । अपि चात्र महायोगी मर्कण्डेयो महायदा । अनुवदया जगौ गाथा नृगस्य पर्णीपते ॥ ६ । एवत्स मर्गित सब्द बहुवला मतिलेन्द्रवदः । पवेणी चैमत्तु पुण्या तीर्थेभ्यो विद्य मत्ता मग ॥ ७ ॥

⁸ M. Criddle's Ptolemy p. 103.

scription of Ushavadata (see above p. 637) The Gathasaptashati peaks of the h iv banks of the Tapi (III, 39) The Bhishatamhita peaks of the sweet waters of the Tapi¹ The Pavoshni is a feeder of the Tapi which after running underground for some distance falls into the Tapi at the town of Prakasa, 23 miles north west of Dhulia in the Chandesh district.² Nundolil Day identifies the Nirvindhya with the Naganga. But this does not seem to be correct. In the Megha Duta the poet tells us that the river Nirvindhya was to be met with on the road from Vidisa (Bhilsa) to Ujjayini.³

Godavari—This river surpasses in sanctity the Krishna and may be styled the most sacred river of Maharashtra. We have quoted several passages about the sacred land of the seven Godavaris. The river Godavari is mentioned in the Suttimpita as running through the country of Assaka (Assaka).⁴ In the list of sacred places in the South we find that the Godavari is mentioned first as a holy river (Vanaprava Chap. 892). In the Ramayana we have frequent poetic descriptions of the scenes on the banks⁵ of the Godavari. The Brahmapurana devotes about a hundred Chapters (70-170) to the Godavari and the sacred places on it. In one place we are told that the banks of the Godavari are the most charming country in the world.⁶ The Matsyapurana also says the same. The Saptasati of Hila refers to the river Gola at least a dozen times and is very enthusiastic in its praise. The Brhatsthanhita⁷ says that the Godavari

¹ वे च पितॄनि सुतोया तापी थे नामि ग्रामतामलिस्म् । इहस्तदिता 6-2

² Bon. G. Vol. VII p. 406 note. But in the महाभारत seems that the पर्येष्ठी is तापी itself as the adjunct « समुद्रगां » in the pa age quoted above clearly indicates.

³ मेष्टुत वर्ष 29. « निर्विद्याया पाय भव रसाम्बानर मनिपद्य »

⁴ Few lines edition Verses 47 and 5 B F Vol. X part 2 p. 84

⁵ See भरतपुराण Chapters 25, 6 etc.

⁶ भरतपुराण Chap. 27 वर्ष 43-44 « महास्थ चेत्ते यग्नु यत गोदावरी नदी । पृथिव्यामपि कृत्याया स प्रदद्धा मनारम ॥ यावधनपुर रम्य आर्गेवस्य महामन । » See the same verses in यावद्याय 57 अ-35 and कथा 45 अ-3 (slight variations).

⁷ भरतपुराण 14. 2-30 « महास्थानं ते चैत तत्र गावावरी नदा । पृथिव्यामपि कृत्याया म प्रदेशो भारतम ॥ यत्र गावर्भनो नाम मादरो गावमादन । रामप्रियार्थ स्वर्णीया कृष्ण दिव्यस्तद्वैपन ॥ भरदाजेन मुनिना प्रियार्थमवतारित । ततो पुष्टवरो देनामतेन चश्च प्रनाम ॥

14 under the influence of Murs¹. In the Buddhist story of Bavu, who was the former Purohita of Mahikosala and then of Pasenadi, we are told that a residence was built for Bavu on the Godavari when he wanted to become a recluse. Alberuni speaks of Mandigir on the banks of the Godavari, *60 farsakhi* (from Alispur it seems)². An inscription of the Yadava king, Ramachandra dated Shaka 1193 (1271 A.D.) records a grant of the village of Vadathiri on the northern bank of the Godavari and calls it the ornament of Seunadesa.³ It seems that the territory watered by the Godavari was named सप्तगोदावरः.

Krishna—The Vishnusmriti mentions a Tirtha the Southern Panchanada by which the commentator Nandapanaita understands the five rivers Krishna, Vegi, Tunga, Bhadri and Kona.⁴ The Mahabharata speaks of the Krishnaventra.⁵

¹ Hardy's Man. of Buddhist p. 106.

² Alberuni Sacha Vol. I p. 205.

³ I A Vol. 14 pp. 114-15.

⁴ 'सप्तयामा नदीगोदावरीभ्या च' ॥ अनूष्ठानवपुवाभासलोम् ॥ पा-

V 407, commented upon by कालिदास. According to the कालिदास (Brendon) the name of the country referred to by the tirtha सप्तगोदावर �it is to be noted that the कथासुतिसागर (III. 50) refers to the elephants of उदयन् as having drunk the waters of the river Godavari after crossing the बावेशी and the मुरली 'यत्तस्य सप्तधा भिज्ञ पुण्योदावरीपय । मानह्रस्त्वं मदध्यगत्यप्रेक्ष्य गुच्छित ॥'. The Mahabharata while dwelling upon the merit to be secured by bathing at various sacred places comes to सप्तगोदावर after कैलाश 'सप्तगोदावरे रनीत्वा नियते नियनाशन । मदापुण्यमवाप्नोनि देवात्मा च गच्छति ॥' (वनश्व Chap. 45. 44). In the वायुशुद्धण (7) च सप्तगोदावर mentioned तीर्थे 'सप्तगोदावरे चेत गोदावरे च तपोवन । अशेषपाल तथ श्नाता च लभते चर ॥'. But in the शालशृण्यण of राजदेशम् (Vol. III of Brendon I and II for 408-9) we get Id in the 10th Act that the अंगभू �dwelt in the गोदावरा, then there is बावेशी, and the country of मदारात् are described गुच्छव - (दक्षिणोदर्शीयन्) देव सप्तगोदावरिनार्थे भीमो भगवन्नर्ग्य । राम - अवाभासनव दक्षिणेन द इम गोदावरगोलगो तप्तवापवि वार्णिपिण्डागिना द्वीपान्तरापि निवा ॥ ५०८-९

⁵ SBE Vol. 4 p. 222.

⁶ सभापत्रं ५०८; भीष्मपत्रं ५१

The Vayupurani and Bhagavata mention the rivers Krishna and Vena separately while the Brahma and the Matsya combine them into one as Krishnaveni.¹ The Vena and Krishna are mentioned in the Vishnupurana.² A grant of the Silhara chieftain Marisimha of the 9th (10th-11th) century A.D. speaks of the Krishnaveni in the Minija desa (modern Muraj).³ The village of Kadphadimavalli (Kurund taluk in the S. M. country) on the confluence of the Krishnaveni and Bhennesi was granted by the Yadava Emperor Singhana in Saka 1135 (1214-15 A.D.).⁴ The Vikramankidevacharita calls it Kri-
shnaveni or Krishnaveni.⁵

Among the lesser rivers the Vena deserves the first place. Pargiter takes the Krishnaveni mentioned in the Vanaparva (Chap. 8, 37) to be a tributary of the Vena (which he identifies with the Wenganga) north of Nagpur.⁶ The Buhatsamhita several times mentions the Vena or its banks and it gives us the interesting information that Vajra diamonds were found on the banks of the Vena.⁷ The Brahma purani speaks (in Chap. 77, 5) of the confluence of the Krishnaveni, Bhimarathi and Tungibhadra as a very holy place conferring *mukti* on mortals.⁸ The river Bhimarathi appears to be the Bhima that falls into the Krishna.⁹ The Buhatsamhita calls it Bhmarath.¹⁰ A village called Alanditirtha on the southern bank of the Bhimarathi was granted by the grandson of Satyavaya (Pulakesin I) see J. B. B. R. 1, 5, Vol. II pages 1-11 and I, A. Vol. 29 pp. 303-304. The Kaatkhavati (on Panni IV = 8,¹¹) mentions a river

¹ वायु च॒प. २०१३ और मत्स्य ११४-१३। असदा २७-२८ वे हैं दृष्टिवेत्ता। The
मायवन (व. 16) reads दृष्टिवेत्ता।

² Wilson's V. P. p. 184. The waters of the दृष्टि वेत्ता are described to be always salubrious
in the फृग्युग्म.

³ Burgess and Bhag. anal. Ca. & temples, p. 409.

⁴ See J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 22, p.

⁵ See IV, p. NV, 13 and 21.

⁶ J. R. A. S. for 1896 pp. 23-24.

⁷ दृष्टि वेत्ता Chap. 4-26, 6, 9, 80-90. 'वेणो विशुद्ध शिरापक्षुमोपम च
कौशलकम्'॥

⁸ दृष्टि भीमरथी वेण तुहभद्रा तु भारद। निष्ठा सहमो यत्र तत्त्वाध मुक्तिद दृष्टाम्॥

⁹ See वायुपुराण। Chap. 20, 13 and 27, 15. वायु 45, 103. मत्स्य 1-4, 2.

¹⁰ Chap. 26, 4.

Bhimarathi The river Bhimarathi and Paon Lankipura (Pandharpur) on it are mentioned in a grant of Krishnayadavi dated Śaka 1170 (1249-50 A.D. in this case).¹ A grant of the Rashtrapati Govinda III, dated Śaka 730 (808-09 A.D.) speaks of the village granted, i.e., Rittajunt having as its eastern boundary the river Sina.² This is the river Sina a tributary of the Bhima. The river Malaprabha (modern Malaprabha that falls into the Krishna) is mentioned in a Yatala inscription of Śaka 1145 (1223-24 A.D.).³

The river Varada (modern Wardha in Berar) is said in the Mahiśagnumitra to have been fixed as the boundary between the kingdoms of Vajrasena and Mudrasena by Agnumitra, the second Sung sovereign. The Nilachalimpī speaks of a country called Varudata. The river Vainganga in the Central Provinces appears to have been referred to as Bennā or Vena. In the Seoni copperplate of the Valīgakar Prasārisena II, we have a grant of the village of Brithmapatru in Bennā Kurpitabhāga. This district appears to have derived its name from the river Bennā which from the situation of the village granted and the place where the plate was found seems to be the Vainganga. In the Jāt of Tīrthas in the Banavasi the pilgrim's course is made to run along the Godavari to its junction with the Vena and then northwards to the junction of the Vena with the Venā.⁴

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

In the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D. we are told that there were three Mahārashtras.⁵ What these three main divisions of Mahārashtra were the inscription does not tell us. But it seems that Vidarbha Mahārashtra proper (*i.e.* the country from Khindesh to Satara) and Kuntala were the three countries intended to be designated as the three Mahārashtras. This surmise derives support from the fact that the limits of Mahārashtra as discussed above extended from the Narmada to the Krishna. The fact that the Bahūmī gana of Rajashekharī groups the countries together lends further support to this surmise.⁶ I have referred above to the notices of Vidarbha in the ancient Vedic literature. Vidarbha was a very powerful and prominent kingdom from ancient

¹ J.A. Vol. 14 p. 24.

² See J.A. Vol. VI p. 68.

³ J.B.B.R.A. & Vol. 12 p. 26.

⁴ See वैद्यतीर्थ ४५ ३१-३२

⁵ See J.A. Vol. VIII page 261.

⁶ See above p. 640.

tures¹. The poets of Vidarbha surpassed those of any other part of India, and their style came to be called Vaidarbhi even so early as the 6th Century A.D.² We hear the echo of a war between the Magadha Emperors and Vidarbha in the Matsvikagnimitra of Kalidasa Agnimitra, the son of Pushymitra, the first king of the Sunga dynasty, reigned at Vidisa in the second and third quarters of the second Century B.C. He proposed marriage with Matavika, whose brother Madhavasena had a quarrel with his cousin Vajrasena king of Vidarbha. When Madhavasena was on his way to Vidisa in Malva, Vajrasena's general imprisoned him but his counsellor Sumati and sister Malavika escaped. Agnimitra demanded the release of Madhavasena but Vajrasena agreed to do so only on condition that his wife's brother, (styled Mauryasachiva in the drama) kept in imprisonment by Agnimitra, be released. Agnimitra vanquished Vajrasena and Vidarbha was divided between Madhavasena and Vajrasena.

¹ The महाभारते mentions the विदर्भ among fighters in the great war विदर्भ occurs in the 1st of countries in the भीषण्ड (१४५) In the राजनीति (३२२-३) we are told that विदर्भ was a very religious nation 'राष्ट्रे खमोक्ते थें विदर्भवभवद् दिज ।' In the मर्त्यपुराण Chap. 41 we learn that king Jayamatha had a wife Chelida from whom was born विदर्भ, whose sons were कृष्ण, वैश्यिक and लोमपाद (२ ५) कैटिक had a son चेदि from whom the चेदि kings took their name (२ ३८) In the मागवतपुराण (४४४) we read that विदर्भ had three sons कुश, कृष्ण and लोमपाद, the 5th descendant from the latter being चेदि In the विष्णुपुराण (Wilson Vol. 4 p 67 ff) we are told that विदर्भ had three sons कृष्ण, वैश्यिक and लोमपाद, कृष्ण was the ancestor of the भोज, वैश्यिक was the father of चेदि, the progenitor of the चेदि kings In the हरिवंश (Langlois Vol. I p 165) विदर्भ is similarly made father of कृष्ण, वैश्यिक and लोमपाद, but it makes चेदि the son of a second वैश्यिक, great grandson of लोमपाद In the वेदाभ्यासिका (Cowell's Jatakas Vol. I p 121) a charm called Vedabbha is said to have been known to a भारद्वाज whose pupil the देवपितॄ was Both are said to have come to the country of Cheli (चेदि?) and met with two robbers. Kalidasa uses the word कृष्णवैश्यिक (सुखरा ५, ३९, ८८ and ७ २१) for the people of विदर्भ From Kalidasa's description it appears that the नमदा had to be crossed while going from उत्तरकोशल to the capitol of विदर्भ (which was कुपिडन according to अ३ २३)

* कृष्णदर्श । एव अस्त्वनेहो गिरि मार्गं सूर्यमेद परस्परम । तथा वैदर्भगीटायौ वर्त्तेत प्रस्तुरन्तरी ॥

the Vardha (modern Vardha river) being the boundary between the two kingdoms. The *Dakshinachitri* (VIII Lehhivasa) mentions six feudatory kingdoms of Vidarbha viz., Akurka, Kuntalap, Murali, Richika, Koorkana and Sisikya (Is it Nasik?)¹. The Bhojas ruled in Vidarbha (Raghuvanshi V, 79-80 and Dakshinachitri VIII). Even the *Mahabharata* tells us that Bhushmif, king of the Bhujas in Bhujikala and called Lord of Vidarbha is submitted to Jarasandha.² The Bharhat Stupa has an inscription commemorating a donation from a nun of Bhujikala.³ The Bhujikala kingdom is mentioned in the Chumuk copper plate of the Vikataka Maharaja Pravarasena II.⁴ Thus we see that from very ancient times Vidarbha (modern Berar and the country beyond it) on almost all

form part of Maharashtra.

The country of Kuntala is also well known from very ancient times. Its exact boundaries are a matter of great difficulty. Dr Burgess says that "Kuntala stretched from the Narmada in the north to somewhere about Tungabhadra (or further) in the south, hiving the Arabian Sea for its border on the west and reaching the Godavari and the Eastern Ghauts on the north-east and south-east. But these boundaries are much too exaggerated as they would make Kuntala embrace the whole of the peninsula except the southernmost part of it and would leave no room for Maharashtra or would make

¹ See समाप्ति १४ - ३३ “ खतुयसाद्वमहाराजो भोग इन्द्रसंखो बलो । विश्वा चराद्यो व्यज्यत् सपाण्डकर्यादिकान् । आत्मा यस्याहृति द्युषा जामदग्न्यसमोऽभवत् । स भक्तो माग्य राता भाष्यत् पर्यायेण । ” समाप्ति (Chap. 3-6) describes how सहदेव came in his career of conquest to भाष्यक भास of भोजकट

² Bharhat Stupa (Cannanpur) p. 223

³ V. V. Smith identifies भाजकट as in the first of Gaudapadacharya Lekhavij J. R. A. S. 1944 p. 330.

⁴ Cor I Vol III p. 235

The mod in name Varadatta seems to connect itself with वरदाता. In the Nala chansu of त्रिविक्रमभट्ट we read “ कीरपुरुष वदतात्रदातदनामक महाराष्ट्रम् । दश्युण मात्त्वती सा सद्गी विद्यो नदी यत्र ॥ ” 646. It is possible that the word महाराष्ट्र is used here as the name of a country and then the post-nominal नदी would be that that post of महाराष्ट्र called वरदाता or a land of the sea.

⁵ L.S.W.J. 1944 III p. 23

the latter its sub-division. But we have seen that Maharashtra was a separate country from at least the 5th Century A. D., and that Badami was its capital in the 7th Century. In my opinion, Kuntala may be roughly described as the country from the Bhima and Krishna to some distance beyond the Tungabhadra and included Kolhapur and the other Southern Mahratha States such as Miraj, Belgaum and Dhrewar districts, a portion of the Nizam's dominions and of the Mysore State and North Canara. It will be seen from the quotations given below that the modern districts of Belgaum and Dhrewar were the heart of Kuntala. Mr Rice defines Kuntala as the country between the Bhima and the Vedavati, bounded on the west by the Ghauts and including the Shimoga and Chitaldurg districts of Mysore, Bellary, Dharwar and Bijapur and certain tracts in the Nizam's dominions.¹ According to Dr Fleet Kuntala included Banavasi in North Cannara, Belgaum and Harihar in Mysore, Hampi or Vijayanagar in the Bellary district, to the north of these places Hangal, Lakshmeshwar, Lakhundi, Gadag in Dharwar, further to the north Belgaum, Srundatti, Nanoli, Konnur in the Belgaum district, Pajjadicaval, and Alibele in Bijapur and still more to the North Terdasa in the Sangli State. Bijapur itself and Kalbagil (see Bom G, Vol I, part 2, p. 431). When the Vakatakas, the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and the Kadavas were at the height of their power, Kuntala formed part of their dominions and so came under Maharashtra.²

¹ See Mysore and Coorg from the inscriptions, p. 3 (1901) quoted in J. R. A. S. (1911) p. 220.

² In the महाभारत, कुन्तले are referred to भगवाण् १२०. One of the river places at Ajanta records that the काकाटिक king पृथिवीपण, son of रडसेन, conquered कुन्तल and that another काकाटिक king हरिपण conquered कुन्तल, अवन्ति कलिह, कोसल, मिष्ठा, लोट and अभि (Murgesh and Bhagwanlal's cue temples p. 70; J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII p. 57; A.S.W. L. IV, p. 124; J. R. A. S. 1911 pp. 344-357). The वायमसूक्त of वास्त्यायन (Chap. 3, p. 131) refers to a कुन्तलाश्रातकाणि 'कर्तव्य कुन्तल शासकाणि शानवाइनो महादेवी मलयवती (जपान)' We have seen above that according to the दशकुमारचरित कुन्तल was under the kings of विदर्भ. The famous inscription of the चानुषधिविरमादित्य or विमुखनमहा dated Śaka era (L. D. ३७५) tells us that through कुन्तल the flowed कुण्डवेणा 'विख्यानहृष्णवेणानीरनेदोपक्षसरदत्य । कुन्तलविषयो निरा विरजे महिमामोद ॥' मधुरदर्मि mentioned as the best of the कदम्ब kings of Basav was said to have brought a ब्राह्मण from Mahabhattala and established the new कुन्तल, which

As for the part of the country excluding Vidarbha and Kuntala as defined above we are confronted by several names. It seems that a portion of modern Khandesh, Nasik Ahmednagar and part of Berar and the Nizam's dominions went by the name of Asmaka in very ancient times. In the Suttupata the country of Assaka (Asmaka) is placed on the banks of the Godavari¹. The Dighinikaya speaks of the earth being divided into 7 territories one of which was Asmaka with its capital Potiri² (is it Paithan?) One of the Visik inscriptions of Gotamiputra in the list of countries conquered by that king separately mentions Asaka (Asmaka). Anup (Capital Mahishmati on the Narmada³ see Rigvayasa 6, 37 and 43) and Vidarbha (Vidarbha)⁴. In the Chullakalingiyakta (Court Vol III, p. 5 No. 301) a king Aswita of Potili in the Assaka country is referred to "In the Ajanta caves there is an inscription which reads for the spiritual benefit of Bhavirya the minister of the very glorious Asmaka or ya," also for the good of his mother and father did Buddhishubra cause this Sugata's abode to be constructed⁵. In the Disakava trachanta the

and ded Panavas (I. 5 V. 1 X pp. 250 and 251) in a inscription of G. mukhi dated 562 (11-2-24 A.D.) we read Thee where Bharata aranya appears is situated appes full I etia me the great country of Kuntala in Jatra that land is near the great district called Kuntal and in the heart of this district the Tendla town etc (I. 5 Vol 14 p. 2). Tendla is a town in modern Nagpur State. An inscription dated Saka 140 (14-2-24 A.D.) makes Narugunda (the modern Navalgund Taluk of Wardhadhore one of the 12 talukas in the district of Belgaon in श्रीगंगांव) An inscription dated Saka 140 (14-2-24 A.D. in this case) refers to Tengale as situated near the river अम्बारी⁶ and as a district of श्रीगंगांव (I. 5 Vol XII p. 98). The यादव विजयका of Haeb I in Nagara would have to fight with the Deogni Yadava Jayaramba at Lakkur qd (in w Lakkund & Dhankar) if that is have defeated him and to have seen of श्रीगंगांव (I. 4 Vol II p. 34) the inscription dated 14 (Kuda s. 12-2-24 A.D.). A Kannada inscription of Saka 145 (Param. 1 D) speaks of the district of Kuntal as part of श्रीगंगांव (G.B.B.P.A.S. V. 1 X p. 273) and places Gangadiva under Kuntala in the end of a chapter of the 14th year (p. 281). A K. at the Yadava bankuru dated Saka 21 (14-2-24 A.D.) in the flora (in eastern Hub) appears to be a district of hub in श्रीगंगांव. Why the country was named श्रीगंगांव can not be left fully as a old legend is total explanation. The war between the country were kind of experts in weaving the श्रीगंगा (shred) perhaps the end that country were fond of long hair.

¹ See Faustus Adelphi, 543, 970 and 5 B.I. 21 d part p. 8; also Hardy's Manual p. 346.

² See J. P. T. S. from p. 63, whence the red comes & taken.

³ J. B. B. R. 1. 5. 3 d 1 p. 35 as Jam 1. 34. 4 p. 43

⁴ In Po. 1 the name is Po. 2000 abt. c.?

⁵ J. B. B. B. A. S. Vol VII No. 22 pp. 61-62 and 14-15 and shagunak. 2. 1 complex. part 7. 7²

Asmika which is spoken of as a neighbour of Vidarbha and as fighting with the King of the latter on the Narmada.¹ From Bhāskarī's work on rhetoric we learn that a poem called अस्मिकाराजामूर्ति is claimed to have been composed in the Vaidurbha style.² In the Brahatsamhitā, Asmika is mentioned several times, sometimes along with Tripuri or Vidarbha.³ From all these data, we come to the conclusion that from the centuries preceding the Christian era up to the 6th century A.D. at all events the country from Khandesh up to the Godavari was called Asmika, probably had Paithan as its capital and included Ajanta in it.⁴ We shall see later on that the Andhrabhrityas or Sutivahanas, whose capital was originally at Dharmasthala (Dharmikotta or Aniravati on the Krishna) found it necessary to have a capital at Paithan in the west in order to be better able to stem the rising tide of Kshatrapa aggression.

The same country or at least a large portion of it came to be called Seunadesa in later times under the नाशीवास. A Nāshīvāsi chief named Seunichandra, son of Dīpti Bhuprahīra and grandson of Subahu is said to have given his name to this country and founded the city of Seunipura in Sindimeri⁵ (modern Sinnar in the Nasik district) in a grant, dated Śaka 991 (1069-70 A.D.). In inscription of the नाशीवा राजा

• 'सर्वथा नयद्वस्य वसन्तभानोरटमकेन्द्रस्य हस्ते राज्यमिद (निर्दर्भ-राज्यम्) पतितम्' and then 'अप वसन्तभानुर्भुवर्मणं नाम वान-गाय प्रोत्साह्णानन्तवर्मणं व्यग्राहयत् । . . सर्वसामन्तेभ्यश्चादमकेन्द्रं प्रागु-पैचास्य प्रियतरोऽभूत् । अपरेऽपि सामन्ता समगसत् । गत्वा चाभ्यर्थे गर्भदारोवसि न्यविशन् । तस्मिंश्चापसरे महासामन्तस्य कुन्तलपतेरवन्ति-देवस्य । अदमकान्डस्तु कुन्तलपतिमेकान्ते समग्यवत् । . . तदापा नभूय मुरलेश वीरसेनमृच्छकेशमेकपीर कौकणपति कुमारगुप्त सासि-क्यनाथ च नागपालमुपजपान् ।'

• 'ननु चादमरुवशादि वैदर्भमिति कथ्यते । काम तपास्तु प्रायेण सज्जेष्ठातो विग्रीयते ॥' भाष्मह । ३।

• Chap. ५२ (निपुर) ५७ (निर्दर्भ)

Dr Bhagwanlal Patel of Deccan Archaeological Survey, Vol. 16, pp. 88-89.

¹ I. 1. XII. p. 12. १ d. case not be known as Narmada is said to be the eastern tributary of the Godavari. It is said Narmada is १, ६०५ ft. long & १, ८०५ ft. wide. See E. A., Vol. 2 pp. 12-22.

chandra dated Saka 1193 (17172 A.D.) records a grant of the village of Vadabhana on the northern bank of the Godavari and calls it the exclave of Seunadevi¹. In the Vratakhand of Hemadri, we are told that Deogiri was situated in Seunadevi and that the latter was on the confines of Daulatkhanya². The Prataparudra Vasobhushana speaks of the Yadav kings of Seunadevi³. The Kakatiya king Prataparudra (1295-1323 A.D.) is said to have vanquished the Yadava king of Seunadevi, that had crossed the Gautami river (Godavari). From this it appears that Seunadevi extended from the Godavari northwards to Degiri (modern Daulatkhanda)⁴.

Before proceeding further, it is better to say a few words on the terms used to denote the divisions and sub-divisions of a country in our authorities. The commonest or most usual term for a country is Desa as in Seunadevi. Another generic term for a country met with in the Puranas and other Sanskrit works (like the Dakshinatraycharita) is Janapada⁵. The Amarakosa gives Desa, Janapada and Vishaya as synonyms⁶. It must be said at the outset that

¹ I.A. Vol. 14 pp. 345. Between Seunadevi and Bhilana III, no king intervened.

² Rao G.V. 22 part pp. 226 and 230. At page 230 it is suggested that the name मेहुदेशी is preserved in the modern Khandesh between which it is said there is a close resemblance. One fails to see how मेहुदेश can be converted into मेहुने. Is it possible that Khandesh was so named after the king Kaaka Siddhivarma (See Hank Imerson No. 21) or better still after his son Keda of Degiri (see J.B.R.R. 4, 5, Vol. IX p. 26 for a grant of his). It may be that the country came to be so called on account of its dark soil (कृष्णरंग changed into कृष्णदेश from खेल Khandesh is merely corruption).

“रेरे सेना कस्त्रायमनिदयूर्मोऽगर्भे महाकृतीर्णा फिल येन
गोतमनदी प्राप्तोसि मृत्योर्मुखम् । एषा काकतीररद्द इति किं ना-
श्रानि सप्ताक्षरी प्रक्षुभ्यत्प्रतिपक्षपार्थिवमहाभूतमहोवाटुनी”॥ रसप्रकरण
p. 145 of the Balamanorama series “राज्ञो यादवरशपार्थिवमणे प्रख्यातशोर्प-
थियसनद्गतुह्यतुरद्गतेन्यमहतो भावेनकिर्त्तस्य च । सदो रुद्धनरेन्द्रनाम-
कचमूनायेन केनाप्यधिक्षिप्तस्याचरितानि सेवणपतोर्जनाति सा गोतमी ॥”
अन्तर्द्दक्षारप्रकरण p. 16. In another place we have “प्राप्तज्ञाना सेना”

³ 133

* वृत्तिक्रम द्व. 117. उल्लिख. 34 वा. 35

द्व. 22 वार्षिकी, छ. 11-22 वा. 23 । 44 वार्षिकी 22-34

* नामूलनामो दशविषयी नृपतन्त्रम्

ancient usage is not uniform in the employment of terms denoting a country and its sub-divisions. I shall try to give what appears to be the general usage about each term and note the exceptions if any. In doing so I shall illustrate my remarks by naming most of the known sub-divisions of Maharashtra.

In epigraphic records we often come across the words 'Rashtrapati' (ruler of a province), 'Vishayapati' (lord of a district) and 'Gramahasta' (head of a village).¹ From the order in which the terms occur it is clear that Rashatra is a division larger than Vishaya.² In the inscriptions of Southern India we meet with the terms Manjili, Nalu and Ur (township) which correspond to Rashtra, Vishaya and Gramha. The word Manjili is often employed in the same sense as Desa or Rashtra, e.g., in Mahishmati inscription (for which, see above p. 621). But the Sahyadrikhangi that hangs to rely on to the Sindhudurg in says that a Desa comprises 100 villages that a Manjili is equal to four Desas and that a Khanda comprehends a hundred Manjilis.³ At all events Manjila was larger in extent than Vishaya or Bhukti.⁴ The term Desa though generally applied to such large tracts as Maharastra-karnataka is sometimes used for small ones. For example in a grant found at Goa, dated Saka 532 (610-11 A.D.) the district of

¹ See Dr. Fleet's note on these terms for political divisions in Corpus I, vol. III, p. 22, n. 7.

² See I. A. Vol. VIII, p. 20 (grant of शान्तव शिरुकनमहेत्व, dated Saka 532 i.e. 610-11 A.D. and I. A. 22 pp. 224-25 (grant of राष्ट्रव यादिद १, dated Saka 855 i.e. 916-34 A.D.).

³ The term खंड seems to have sometimes been applied here, not that could not have been very large. For example गोपराष्ट्र, the present Narkar Dist. (o. which see above). But in a grant गोपराष्ट्र is often termed a विषय (cf. S. B. R. A. S. II, P. 1, 12). The Sindhudurg (about 610 A.D.) mentions countries called Akumbala, Tam and Vilitarata (S. B. E. Vol. 75, p. 43). The latter can be identified. The former was probably Khanesh. We have inscriptions of a Khantha king that began to reign in Khanesh about 600 A.D. See I. A. Vol. VIII, p. 25.

⁴ 'शतग्रामो भवेदेशा देशग्रामार्थ मण्डलम् । शतग्राम भवेत्तदेश नवदण्डा च मैदिनी' ॥ सदाग्रिक्षण (Ed. Carson Da Cunha) उत्तराय Chap. 4. The सदाग्रिक्षण is, it must be admitted, a veritable work and is not of much value as so long quoted as of ancient History and Geography. From the Ca. bay plate of A. D. 934, we see that मण्डल was a sub-division of Desa (I. A. Vol. VII, p. 4). 'लालदशेशमण्डलासर्गन-कापिकामदास्थानविनियोगाय'.

⁵ I. A. Vol. 15 p. 209 where Pan akagesha is the name of a hill belonging to the Valley of Deccanaya in 'शतग्रामगढ़' is referred to.

Khet dhara (used to Khet in the Ratnagiri district) is term of a Desi Sarikar which we have the term Dasa applied to the tract about Murudji or Murungi (modern Miraj) and Karki (modern Igatpuri and Dhule etc).¹ We have seen above that Vishaya is a division less than a Mankhali and it seems that it was less than Desi.² The term Vishaya is however, often applied to such large tracts as the Konkan.³ We find the terms Desi and Vishaya indiscriminately applied to the same tract of country.⁴ Vishaya seems to have been a larger division than Ahara⁵ and Puthra or Phulak.⁶ The exact relationship between Vishaya and Bhukti is not quite clear. Bhukti is certainly less than a Mankhali.⁷ In some places it seems that Bhukti was larger than Vishaya.⁸ Whatever the relationship may be there are incidents that Phulak was comparatively a small division. In the Somangad grant of Krishnadeva Ratta Dantidurga, dated Saka 675 (753 A.D.) we meet with Koppura too as a Bhukti.⁹ In the Panthapithes of A.D. 731 we read of a grant by the Krishnadeva

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S. V. I. 1 pp. 349 ff.

² See J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII p. 1 Grant of the Saka 10 Mahamapahareya Gajjaraka dated Saka 10 or 11 A.D. C. F. Smith's *Suraseni*, I. A. Vol. 16 pp. 13 ff. Chauhan grant of Krishnadeva II is also mentioned दृष्टवदेश

³ A grant of राष्ट्रकूट गोरिद जी dated Saka 50 has 'तामिरेशावदरत्नगरविपया नैन् भासमयम्' (I. A. V. I. p. 15) 193.

⁴ See I. A. वौदण्यिपय (I. A. V. I. p. 15) p. 15 a grant of the राष्ट्रकूट असारपै कुण्ठराज, dated Saka 10 or 11 A.D. and I. A. XI. p. 153 for a quotation in the गणपतसंस्कार in Prakrit (कृष्णविष्णु, &c.)

⁵ We have a karah taken in vihara (See Burgess and Bhagwanlal's Cave Temples, p. 102) while we had वृण्डादेश also above

⁶ See J. B. B. R. A. S. V. I. 16 pp. 1-3 where in the Naevang grant we read 'ठाइरिवाविपय यान्तर्गतवण्डवलाहारविपये'

⁷ I. A. Vol. XX p. 340, marks of a 'विष्णुरिक्तायाम्' in the प्रतिष्ठानभूमि and attached to the 'वाराणसारपैय' which belonged to the 'बाराणसारविपय'

⁸ See I. A. V. I. p. 15 p. 107 quoted above

⁹ See Cor. I. III p. 111 the Desi Bharatik Inscription of II A. 1 p. 11 where we have वालशीविपय in नगरगुरुमि. See I. A. V. I. 14 p. 93 where the long chilgi grant of Vyashap. date 7 III records a gift of some land in the vardhan shaya in the लोदा वर्धना भुक्ति the लोदा (date of IV ap. 62) in the same place & pp. 152-153 a grant of the village of Medha in the Ke village baya of the लोदाग्रामभुक्ति.

¹⁰ I. A. V. I. 14.

king Govinda III of a village named Limbaramalā in the Srikakcheppa twelve in Pratishfonna bhukti (I A, Vol III, p 103). As the God vari is one of the boundaries of the village granted Pratishfonna-bhukti here means the district round Puthria. In the Ridhimpur grant of Rishtrikuta Govind III of Sal c 730 (807 A D in this case) we read of a Rasiyana-bhukti¹ (Modern Rasin in the Ahmednagar district). The word Bhoga (derived from the same root as Bhukti) was employed to denote a territorial division. The Satara copper plate of Vishnuvardhan I (the founder of the eastern Chalukyas) registers a grant of the village of Alandaturthi in the Śāsthyabhoga on the north of the Agrahara of Anopatra and on the south bank of the river Bhimarathi (I A, Vol 19, pp 303, 304). Dr Fleet identifies Alandaturthi with Alundah, five miles northeast of Bhor and not with Alandi in the Poona district which is on the north bank of the Indrayani. An Āvara as a sub-division was less than a Vishaya as we have seen and larger than a Puthaka. A grant of Śātividyā VII dated in 447 of the Gupta valabhi era (i.e. 766-67 A D) speaks of a village Mahila bali in Uppalahetrapithika in Śrikhetakaharā (modern Kaira district in Gujarat).² Besides the abovementioned Khetakahara in Gujarat we find the following Āvaras or Govardhanā³ (modern Nasik district), Kapura⁴ (probably on the sea coast in Konkan), Soparaka⁵ (modern Sopar near Bombay), Mumuli⁶ (modern Naval in the Poona district), Kheti (modern Khed in the Ratnagiri district). It will have been noticed that many of these divisions termed Vihara go so back as the first century of the Christian era. Patha or Puthaka was less than Vishaya and Vihara. We come across a Puthanapatha⁷ (modern Paithan), a kālīpākṣapithika in Surashtra⁸ (modern Kathirwāl), a Krishnapākṣapithika in Vārāṇasīvihāra⁹ and Uppalavēśapithika¹⁰ in the Kurnā district. Sihali seems to have been a division

¹ I A, VI, 9.

² See Cor I, III, p 224.

³ Nasik inscriptions No 4 Bom C Vol. 6 p 257

⁴ Nasik inscriptions No 18 Bom C Vol. 6 p 252

⁵ A.S.W.I. Vol V p 46 (Banerji Inscrip. no. 5)

⁶ Inscrip. on a baroti dated in the 5th year of Va. Jihputrasītne for which see J.B.B.R. A.S.V.I X p 46 No. 48 p 462

⁷ See J.B.B.R. A.S.V.I X p 46—grant of the 7th year of Karelha by the ruler of Peravaldip, dated Salayga (600-61 A.D.)

⁸ Banerji Inscriptions N. 3 A.S.W.I. V p 46

⁹ I. A. Vol VI p 15 (grant of मुमेद्व राजा of Vādālī वादाली वरभिसवार् १०
c. 625 A.D.) J.B.B.R. A.S.V.I. p 79 (grant of खसन् III of वरभिसवार् ३५
c. 645 A.D.)

¹⁰ I.A. V. L. 5. 1. 162
See above

bigger than Pejhi¹. In the Kshob copper plate of Maharaja Samkshetra of the Gupta era 203 (5.529 & 53) we meet with a Minapit pejhi. Pejhi seems to have been a term for a division of a country. A copper plate of Mahishira II of the Gupta year 163 (482-83 A.D.) records a grant of Karpurikagadha in 'Littapura'². Santaka seems to have been another territorial subdivision³. Bhaga is a term for a territorial division which occurs in the Seoni copper plate of the Vakataka Mahishira Deva inscr. II, where we read of a Vennak or pitabhuja⁴ (which must have been near modern Nlichpur). Kampani⁵ (sometimes written as Kampanas) as a term for a division occurs very frequently. We read of a Kundunge kampani which formed part of the Kunli 3000. A grant of the Kadamba Jayakesin I of Goa speaks of a Kampani called Kaligiri⁶. A copperplate of the Sili fort library of Udayashri dated Saka 1113 (1191-92 A.D.) records a grant in the village of kavoli in the Vizirakampani⁷ (Adyavaram in the Raniganj district). We find a Minujekampani 300 while the Minujidea is also described as a 3000 province⁸.

In the epigraphic records we come across certain numbers that are always allotted to certain territorial divisions e.g. Ruttipuli 72 lakhs, Ganguli 146000, Solanki 1432000, Kavashidip 12500, Baravasi 12000, Tivrigile 6000, Karahuli 4000, Kunli 3000, Minuj 3000, Konki 11400 (Northern Konkan), Tanderudi 1000, Keol 111400 (Southern Konkan near Gaj) &c. The significance of these numbers we have discussed above. What is worth of note is that these large round numbers are rarely allotted after territorial divisions of the northern portion of Mahishira i.e., the territory from the Daemada to the Godavari and a little beyond the latter. It is not easy to offer a satisfactory explanation. This difference may be due to the fact that the southern portion of Mahishira was closely connected with Southern India where these divisions with round numbers abound. In

¹ See L.A. 15 p. 187 where is recorded a grant of the village of Vatagrama in the Dipanakapetha and in the Bhavakharashall by विष्णुराम II dated 57-58 A.D.

² Cor I III p. 116

³ Cor I III p. 105-107

⁴ We read of a Nagadevyanaka as the Kintalaik grant of Maharaja Jayan, dated 493-94 A.D. Cor I III 317-18

⁵ Cor I III 341-346

⁶ J. B. B. S. A.S. X p. 88

⁷ J. B. B. S. A.S. IX pp. 8-200 grant dated in अदीतवर्ष 4400

⁸ See the report of the भारत इतिहास संस्कृत मण्डल for Saka 815 pp. 226-227.

⁹ Ben. C Vol I part 2 p. 44. See I. A. Vol 16 p. 145 which records a grant by the Chalukya Varaha II date 8 of July 807 A.D. The king named Srigra is the ruler of Anjanapura.

illustrating the various terms used for territorial divisions, I have gone over most of the subdivisions, both large and small of Maharashtra. But two or three of them deserve more than a passing notice. First comes Kund, which was a 3,000 province. It included almost the whole of the modern Belgaum district a portion of the Kolhapur territory and of the Sindh State and of Dharwar.¹

Next comes the Mirinji country. It was also a 3,000 province. It was variously spelt as Mirinji, Mairinja and Mirinji. It included the modern Miraj Kurundwad and a portion of the Bijapur district² and may have included a portion of the southern part of Konkan just below the Ghats. The Mahamandaleshvara Silīra Gāndaraditya is said to have reigned over the Mirinji De a together with Konkan and the seven Khollas (valleys).³ Even Mirinji Nagara is referred to as Karahatka (modern Kashi) was a 4,000 province. It may have covered the whole of the modern Satara district and a portion of Bhor and Phaltan States.⁴ About the antiquity of Karahatka we shall speak later on. A Pratyangada 4,000 province is mentioned in the Tidgundi plate of 1082 A.D. the ruler of which was the Sinda chief Munjarajadeva (E. I., Vol. III p. 310). Dr Fleet identifies this province with modern Phaltan (I.A. Vol. 30, pp. 380-81).

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

In these days we often hear it said that the form of Government in ancient Ind was a limited monarchy or that it was popular and democratic in spirit and not despotic. On the other hand there are

¹ See I.A. 14, pp. 21-25 where Kundji is said to be a 3,000 province and to have included Terdilis (modern Terdil in Sangli State); I.A. Vol. 6, p. 13 where the Alataga 700 (modern Alengi in the Kolhapur State) is said to be a former part of the Kundji province. In I.A., Vol. 29, p. 278, Dr Fleet gives an interesting note on the Kundji country. His conclusions are that the Kundji province was only a part of a much larger territory known by the name of Kundji and that Kundji 3000 of the Rattas was probably bounded on the north by the Krishna and Duldiganga on the west by a line which left the Duldiganga close on the west of Bhoj and ran irregularly southward on the west of Nand and Bankeshwar and the east of Marne. These boundaries reach rather too far and would not leave sufficient room for Mirinji and Karahatka.

² J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XII p. 7 for Kurundwad being a part of Mirinji Deha.

³ J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XIII p. 1. See I.A. Vol. 29, p. 380 for Dr Fleet's note on Mirinji Deha.

⁴ Burgess and Bhagawati's Cave Temples, pp. 102, 104.

¹ I.A. Vol. 40, p. 278. Dr Fleet adds that the bounds of can be indicated only partially. According to him no portion of the Karahatka 4,000 can be seen because boundary is beyond the boundaries. On the north of it was the Pratyangada 4,000 province. To the east was Tardila 4,000 (Tardil is to be sought back of the B. mts; a little northeast of our B. mts).

Western writers who say¹ 'the great Empires of the East were in the main tax-collecting institutions.' Thus *excessive* coercive force in their subjects of the most violent kind serve twin purposes and at certain times, but they do not impose laws or distinct from particular and occasional commands. Nor do they judicially administer and enforce customary laws.² In my humble opinion neither the *antahristha* but exaggerated encomiums of the former, nor the trusted and sweeping condemnation of the latter represents the truth about the ancient empires of India. In the following pages an endeavour will be made to convey a fair estimate of the state of government in ancient India.

Before proceeding further it will be necessary to make certain prelatory remarks. Ancient Indian writers had clear notions as to what constitute the essential elements of a state and their respective importance. The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya lays down that there are seven elements of the state, viz., the ruler, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend.³ The *Mahabharata* inserts 'the capital' before the country and omits 'the fort' and says that each preceding is more important than each succeeding one.⁴ Thus we shall see the ruler was regarded as the most important element of the state. The king is consequently glorified as a veritable deity and anarchy is condemned in the strongest terms in such works as the *Mahasamhitā* the *Ramayana*.⁵ The latter work contains one of the most graphic descriptions of the evils of anarchy.⁶ But in spite of the fact that the office of the ruler was looked upon with the greatest veneration Sanskrit writers did not evolve the theory that the king could do just as he pleased. In the Sanskrit writings we hear very little of the rights and privileges of kings, but the whole emphasis is laid on their duties. Instead of the favourite clamour of the Americans that taxation and representation go hand in hand

¹ See T. H. Green's Lectures on the principles of Political Obligation quoted in Prof. A. Yangar's Ancient Indian Pol. 3, 1, 32.

² ' राज्यमास्थानपदतुग्नेशदण्डमित्यग्नि प्रहृतय । अर्द्धात्र गणिः ८ प. ३५.

³ 'राज्यमास्थी पुरुराष्ट्र वशदण्डी मुहूर्तया । सप्त प्रकल्पये शेषा सप्ताङ्ग राज्यमुच्यते ॥ सप्ताना प्रहृतीना तु राज्यस्यासां यथाकल्प । पूर्वं पूर्वं गुरवर जानीयाद्यग्नन महत् ॥ मनु० १०. २४७५

⁴ ' इद्वनिलयमार्हाणमनोश वरणस्य च । उद्दितेशयश्चैव यावा निहृत्य शाश्वती ॥ यस्मादपा सुरेन्द्राण्ड मात्रास्यो निमित्तो शृण । तत्सद्भिरचेष सप्तभूमानि तेनमा ॥ ' मनु० ७. ५

⁵ अर्योऽन्यासाण्ड अ० ३८

Indian writers say that taxation and protection of the people go hand in hand. The ideal king is he who taxes the people for their welfare, who maintains the rules of the Virtues and Vices and who affords protection to his subjects. This is the goal of kingship prescribed not only by altruistic philosophers and poets¹ but even by practical politicians like Kāṇḍilya trained in the hard school of intrigue and bloodshed.² In one place Kāṇḍilya says 'the welfare of the King lies in the welfare of his subjects, his happiness is the happiness of his subjects.' These words remind us of the famous proclamation of the late Queen Victoria which breathes the same sentiment in the words 'in their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward.'

According to the theory of ancient Sanskrit writers on political administration the King was the head of the Government. He was to be assisted by a council of high ministers whose number varied from eight to twenty.³ He was to convene a meeting of his counsellors when any important business arose and was to act on the advice of the majority. The Śukravīti⁴ says down that the King's council should consist of ten ministers and describes their functions. These ten ministers were —Purodīpa (the priest) Pratinidhi (viceroy) Pradhīna (Premier) Srichna (Commander) Mīntri (Councilor), Pedaśīka (Chief Justice) Pālinī (Scholar) Sumūlī Amāta and Dūta (Spy). We are informed by the Śukravīti that according to some, the King's council should consist of eight ministers only, omitting the Purodīpa (priest) and the Dūta. The functions of these ministers were as follows⁵—'The Pratinidhi is he who knows what is to be done and what is not to be done. The Pradhīna is he who has an eye on all things. The Srichna is the man who knows

* Kāṇḍilya says 'प्रजानमेव भूतर्थं स ताम्या बलिमद्वाहन्' रुप. I. 18 अथम गुमदाकाम मनेतस्य तु भूयतः । यो हरेष्ठलिप्यमग्न च रक्षणि पुशवत् ॥ रामायण अरण्यवाण्ड 6. ॥

* 'प्रजामुखे गुप्त राजा प्राप्ताना धर्दिते दिव्यं । नामामिय हित राजा प्रजानो तु पिय दितम् ॥' अर्थशास्त्र अधि 1. 2. 20.

* Kāṇḍilya शास्त्र का. 6. 1. p. 20 'मत्तिपरिषद द्वादशामायाद् कुर्वन्ति मानवा । पाददेवति वार्द्धपत्ना । विद्यतिनियादनवा । यथामाप्यधिनि वौगिन्य । आत्यविकेवाये मीनो मन्त्रिर्विषद चार्यम् मूर्याद् । तत वद्युषिष्ठा कायोर्मद्विवर या ब्रूयस्तुयोऽ ।'

* S. B. H. V. 1. 281 p. 68.

* S. B. H. Vol. VIII (पुस्तक नं ३५)

all about the army. The Mantes is one who is an adept in diplomacy. The Panchika is the person who is well up in the theory of religion and morals. The Pravishika is he who has knowledge of men, Sastris and morals. The Amatya is known to be the person who has knowledge of lands and records. The Sumitra is he who knows of the incomes and disbursements.¹

Passing over the members of the king's council and coming to the jurisdiction of officers we see that according to the Smritis the village is the lowest unit of administration and the headman of the village the lowest officer. The Manusmriti says that the king should appoint officers for each village for ten villages for twenty the hundred and thousand villages and that the headman of the village is to submit reports about his village to the head of ten villages and so on.² We learn from the Sulvasutu that an average village was a kroha³ in area and yielded a revenue of a thousand silver Karsikas.⁴ The person appointed over ten villages was called a Niyaka, the ruler of ten villages was called a Samanta and one who governed 10,000 villages was called a Lipika or Srivati.⁵ The Sulvasutu specifies another method of distinguishing the several titles of rulers of smaller or larger areas. A Samanta is one whose yearly revenue is from one to three lakh Karsikas, a Mandala between three to ten lakh Karsikas, a Raja between ten to twenty lakh Karsikas, a Mahajana between twenty to fifty lakhs, a Sura⁶

* यामग्याधिपति शुपाद्वर्गमपति तथा । निष्ठानीन यतद्व स सदस्तपतिरेव च ॥
यामदोपान् समुत्तरात्माभिर शनैर्य रवयम् । दधेद् यामदोपान्य दृश्यो दिग्नीरितिः ॥
विश्वांशस्तु तस्यै शास्त्राय निरेक्ष्यै । कमद् यामदोपान्य सदस्तपते रवयम् ॥ मनु ॥
2.13.37

* प्रमाणीष्ट्र ^{in his comment on आर्यम्}, दद्यालिकामूल (Dr. Hemachandra) 3. 6. 233
‘उक्त च तत्परिमाण तत्त्वा न है । यामदोपान् शुपाद्वर्गमर्यह्यत्वोगुणे पद्मग्याधित्वमि ।
दृश्याधित्वमित्यकोह दण्ड क्राण दद्यालिकामूल तेषाम् ॥’ According to the क्राण
as a measure a of a kroha is one दण्ड, i.e. 8000 cubits. So the area of a village would be
(8000x8000) 64,000,000 square cubits = about 15,000 acre square yards, i.e. 35 miles
(square). But according to the शुक्लग्रन्थ, कोही = 5,000 cubits of प्रजापति be followed
and 4,000 cubits of मनु be followed and the area of a क्राण would be two crore and a
half cubits with the प्रजापति reckoning. S.B.H. Vol. VIII p. 25.

¹ A Karsika was equal to eighty Kastha or less than a Tola which equals to 66 Rupees. So 1000 Karsikas would be equal to 833 Rupees.

² S.B.H. Vol. VIII (§ kram.) p. 25.

income is between fifty lakkhs and 1 crore a Samraṭ's income is between one and ten crores, a Virūḍha's income between ten and fifty crores A Śravabhuṭṭa's income exceeds fifty crore hrasvas¹. It seems that the titles given above and the incomes corresponding to each are more fanciful than real and display more the author's love for symmetry than his faithfulness to practical life. There is of course some basis of facts as to the titles of rulers. From the inscriptions we see that an emperor (Chakravartī) was usually distinguished by the titles, 'paramaśvārī, paramabhattarīka, māthirajadhirāja, that a king was usually styled simply Māhārāja, that feudatory princes were called Mahimangalasvārī as the Sisaharis of Thana.

Among ancient Classical writers Strabo gives a detailed and interesting account of the several officers appointed to supervise the several branches of administration. He says 'Of the Magistrates, some have charge of the market, others of the city others of the soldiery. Some superintend rivers, measure land, inspect sluices and have charge of hunters. They collect taxes and supervise occupations connected with land. They look after public roads and erect a pillar to indicate byroads and distances at every tenth Stadia'.² Again we are told that those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The first inspect everything relating to industrial arts the second entertain strangers assign them lodgings and send them out of the country, the third enquire in what manner and at what time births and deaths occur not only for imposing taxes, but for preventing death, the fourth are occupied with retail and barter and weights and measures the fifth supervise manufactured articles and sell them by public notice the mixture of old and new being purloined, the sixth collect the tenth part of the price of articles sold.³ We shall compare this interesting account of the gradations of officers with the one contained in the Arthashastra and then try to find out what the inscriptions tell us about them.

(To be continued.)

¹ See S. B. II. Vol. VIII (सूक्ष्मिकी), p. 11.

² See M. Chodade's Ancient India (Guraboli) p. 52.

³ Id. p. 51.